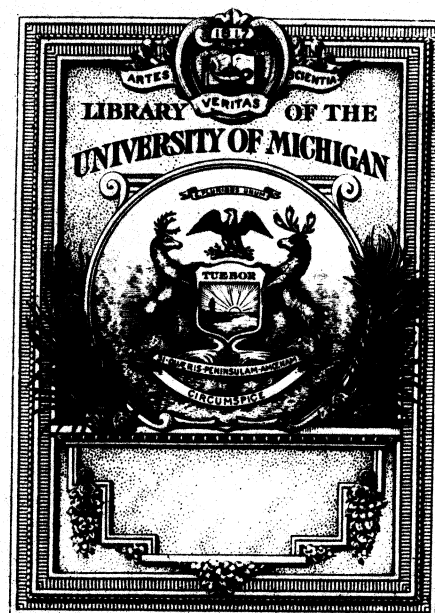


TEN BROOK  
—  
STORY OF  
OUR CITY  
AND  
ITS SCHOOL

EC  
2  
A613.4  
1239





THE GIFT OF  
Mr. W. B. Shaw





THE STORY OF  
OUR CITY & ITS SCHOOL

With a survey of the settlement  
& School System of the West.

By Andrew Ten Brook

First Professor of Intellectual & Moral Philosophy

In the University of Michigan



## Preface

The origin of this book can be briefly stated. Application was made in the Autumn of 1893 to the author for a series of weekly articles for publication in one of the newspapers of Ann Arbor, the same to run through a year. These sketches having been produced, closing in November 1894, there was an urgent call for their collection into a volume, with only the thought, however, of circulation in this city & its immediate neighborhood. But this thought did not, on reflection, satisfy the writer. Ann Arbor, small as it is, is cosmopolitan, as are New York & other great cities of the seaboard, & as Chicago & a few other cities of the great Mississippi Valley. As these centres of trade receive the products of all lands and distribute to all lands those of the country itself, so our little town has carried on an intellectual commerce with all the civilized peoples on the planet. It has received their sons as pupils & sent them home, & many an American with them, freighted with its own intellectual treasures. Moreover, this place, with its school, is really the first & most remarkable product of its kind which originated in the great migration to the westward of the Alleghanies, beginning soon after the Revolutionary war. It is, therefore, in a sense potential to other like developments of the west.

All these circumstances have given rise to the thought that the story of our city & its school may perhaps be of interest throughout the range from which pupils have been drawn hither and that to which alumni have been sent forth prepared for the battle of life.

It ought, perhaps, here to be added that soon after the occurrences which led to the application for the newspaper articles, as referred to above, the Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society applied to the author for a paper to be read at the annual meeting of that body. This was read on the sixth of June last at the State Capitol at Lansing. It will appear in Volume XXIII of the papers of the Society & will be found nearly identical with Chapters VIII to XII of this work. Further, a paper embracing the substance of Chapters XLVI & LVII, was the result of a request from the President of the Students' Christian Association. This as a whole was never published, it being too long for the Bulletin of that body; but the portion of the paper giving the early history of the students' religious life in the institution has appeared in the organ of the Association.

From the foregoing statements it is not to be understood that this work is in any sense a mere reproduction of the newspaper articles referred to. When the idea of a wider circulation of the sketches occurred to the author, he revised the original papers & so extended them as to double the amount of matter embraced. As thus revised, the sketches are now sent forth to the public.

Ann Arbor, February 14th 1895



## I. PRELIMINARY

No account of the origin and growth of our city can fairly be deemed worthy of the subject, unless it shall at least touch upon those events in war, politics, diplomacy and legislation which have made such a development possible. In a fair treatment of my theme, therefore, the first inquiry will naturally be:- How did that section of our country, first known in our history, as the Northwest Territory, now forming five great states, become a possession of our original Confederation? If any shall deem this to be giving too great latitude to our inquiries, it will suffice to reply that our little place has hitherto, to say the least, been the greatest scholastic centre of this extensive region, and that this was brought about by that congressional legislation which first provided a government for the Northwest. It is here in place to inquire by what series of occurrences congress became invested with the right to legislate for this territory.

The old Northwest was by right of discovery a part of New France. Robert Cavalier, better known as Sieur de la Salle, the greatest of all explorers of the North American continent, traced the course of the Ohio river from near the heads of its upper tributaries in what is now Western New York to its confluence with the Mississippi. La Salle traveled about 20,000 miles, half the distance on foot. His exploration on the Ohio was begun in 1669; but it does not concern my purpose to say more of it than that he claimed for France the territory lying between this river and the older French possessions on the North, and that many

settlements, all by French people, were established within these limits, the chief of which were Mackinaw, Green Bay, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and La Prairie du Rocher. This region remained a possession of France until ceded to Great Britain in 1763, as the final result of the victory achieved by Wolfe over Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham at Quebec in October, 1759.

The scattered French settlers of the Northwest, separated by great stretches of wilderness from the British Colonies of the Atlantic coast, took no part in our Revolution; it was, therefore quite natural that Great Britain, after the war should claim this territory by the same title by which she held Canada - that is, by cession from France. What claim, then, could the new confederation set up against that of Great Britain? Upon what ground the colonies of Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York made pretensions to any proprietorship in this territory, I shall not inquire; but they made such pretensions & these were founded on royal grants. Virginia's claim embraced the greatest part. In 1778, Patrick Henry, being then governor of that state, raised a small force for the military occupation of this territory, giving the command to George Rogers Clark, with a Lieutenant Colonel's commission. This was an enterprise of Virginia alone. The congress of the confederation and its commander-in-chief had nothing to do with it. The conquest was accomplished by Colonel Clark's remarkable diplomacy with the French settlers and the Indians, in combination with his tactics and pluck in the solution of the military problem. He won, indeed, by his conduct of this expedition, the *nom de plume*



of the "Hannibal of the West." Details, could they be given, would be entrancing.

Let the following account suffice:

This young officer of twenty-five years, by combined shrewdness and daring, captured Kaskaskia near the Mississippi. By his naive and homely way of stating the matter in dispute between the colonies and the mother-country, he won the Indians to his cause, as also Father Gibault, the Catholic missionary at Kaskaskia. This priest was so charmed with the Virginian's frankness and kindness of heart that he volunteered to go to Vincennes on the Wabash and negotiate the surrender of the garrison there without a military force. This done the Colonel placed in the fort what was supposed to be a garrison of his own men. Colonel Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, came on from Detroit to retake the place, and finding his march obstructed by a cannon planted in his way, demanded a surrender. Captain Helm, the commander of the garrison, insisted upon honorable terms, and when these were granted, he and one private enjoyed alone the honors he had so bravely secured. These two men formed the garrison & marched out with the honors of war, if with flying colors & martial music, these two men had to enact the whole display. The British colonel must have felt the humor.

An incident will set forth the self-possession which ran through Colonel Clark's action and imparted itself to all concerned. The people of La Prairie du Rocher got up a ball in his honor. The party danced till midnight when a report came that Colonel Hamilton was within three miles of Kaskaskia, with 800 men. He had never, he said, seen such confusion as

reigned in this little company on hearing this rumor. All looked to him to decide what was to be done. His mind was made up at once. He ordered the horses for himself and his officers. He told the party not to let the news spoil their diversion. Quieted by his coolness, they continued the dance until the officers' horses came and many of the young men of the place mounted their own horses and rode with him to share his danger; so great was the effect of his calm assurance. The distance was twelve miles, and on their arrival they found that the story had been gotten up for an alarm.

Such is a fair specimen of his policy. He ordered no parades, lest his weakness should be known. He assumed the air of having great forces within his call, he treated everybody with the greatest kindness, and carried the whole French population with him. Colonel Clark was determined to recapture Vincennes. For this purpose he set out in February, 1779, with 210 men, two four pounders and four swivels. The artillery and forty-six men were to ascend the Wabash in a batteau, himself and the remaining force were to go on foot, though not properly by land, since the whole region from the mouth of the White river, fifteen to twenty miles below Vincennes, was inundated. "Not more than two miles," the Colonel says, "were less than three to four feet under water." The commander led the march and indicated the way. All carried their guns and powder over their heads to keep them dry. Their provisions were exhausted, and they were nearly starved. The weather, too, was growing cold & the ice was rapidly forming. At this juncture the hearts of some of the men gave way. 'Without food, benumbed with cold, up to their waists in water which



was covered with floating ice, the men composing Clark's command refused to march. All his persuasions were without effect upon the half-starved, half-frozen soldiers. He was, however, equal to the occasion. In one of the companies was a small drummer boy & in the same was a stout sergeant six feet two inches in stature & devoted to his commander. Clark mounted the boy on the shoulders of the sergeant & directed him to plunge into the half-frozen water, which he did, the boy beating the charge from his lofty perch, while the Colonel followed, sword in hand, giving the command "forward" as he threw aside the floating ice. It was so novel a device that the men, moved by it, promptly obeyed & marched to the high land beyond.# (See Clark's Campaign in the Illinois Bowman's Journal, p. 103. Robert Clarke & Co. Cincinnati, 1869.

The force reached Vincennes on the 23d of February, at evening. The people of the place knew this officer through Father Gibault; he had therefore only to request them to keep in their houses and fear nothing. Then, without waiting for the arrival of his artillery, he demanded the surrender of the garrison. This being refused, he opened fire upon the fort. His determination, and his appearance there when the country was under water, made Hamilton's heart give way; the demand seemed to him something like a summons from another world and he surrendered and was sent a prisoner to Virginia, where he was kept in irons and on bread and water as a punishment for his cruelty. Colonel Clark nicknamed him the "Hair-buyer," from the remorselessness with which he dealt with the Indians in the scalps of American patriots. Washington finally advised that

he be treated as other prisoners.

As the result of this conquest, Virginia organized the whole Northwest into a county, calling it Illinois, over whose scattered population she kept up a loose kind of government.

When in 1783 peace was concluded at Paris between Great Britain and the new confederation, this conquest, was the strongest ground in support of our claim to the territory north of the Ohio; the settlement, before the end of the revolutionary war, of Kentucky and Tennessee, gave an equal claim to the country south of that river, & John Jay's unyielding determination to sustain this claim, finally secured it against the opposition of France and Spain. After a grave contest it was saved from the conspiracy with Spain of General Wilkinson & those whom he had drawn around him. Otherwise the United States, had there been such a country, would have embraced only the narrow strip between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies.

Our conclusion from the foregoing paragraphs is now quite obvious. But for the success of Colonel Clark's expedition, the region known as the Old Northwest would have been a British province. The ground on which our city is built might have been occupied by a Canadian hamlet, or small village and it might still have been but farms and forests. As to where and what we, the individual citizens, should have been, or whether we should have been at all, I shall not speculate, but shall leave all such questions to those who have leisure and taste for them.

## II. ORIGIN OF OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM

The acquisition of the Northwest did not give this Territory to the Confederation of states. Virginia held it by the right of conquest. Other states had claims upon parts of it. But Congress was in a strait for means to carry on the war and to pay the indebtedness already incurred. Some states had no ownership of lands, others had extensive tracts unsettled. Those which had none were dissatisfied and even threatened to seize forcibly upon the lands of those which held such, for these states, they said, could support their governments by the sale of their lands and needed to levy no taxes upon their people, and thus had an undue advantage over the landless ones. To avoid these strifes and pay the war expenses, the cession of the Northwest to the Confederation was proposed and, that I may make the account short, I add only that this followed in due time, Virginia taking the lead. Indeed this state offered its cession in 1781, and the Northwest was not definitely assigned to the Confederation by treaty until 1783. But the cession by the four states was not fully completed and accepted until 1800; yet, after the treaty of Paris in 1783, Congress felt free to provide for the sale of these lands and for the government of the people who should settle upon them.

It is worthy of remark that, but for this cession, Congress might never have had a foot of territory over which to exercise its governing power, for all the other wild lands belonged to the individual states. Nor had it been expected that Congress would ever exercise any territorial jurisdiction. This may, therefore, be regarded as the beginning of that succession of acquisitions by which our possessions have finally reached the

Pacific coast and extended far to the southward and northward.

The first attempt to frame a government for the Northwest Territory was by Thomas Jefferson. This was in 1784. His bill failed of passage and had it become a law would have led to the greatest of misfortunes. It provided, indeed, against the permanent existence of slavery in this section, and yet it permitted this to exist for sixteen years, after which time, as later events plainly show, its dislodgement would have been impossible.

Manasseh Cutler, fifty-three years pastor of the church in Ipswich, Massachusetts, is now known to have been the author of those provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, which have wrought so beneficently for our whole country. Mr. Cutler represented a company, most of its members designing to become actual settlers, and wishing to purchase several million acres of land in this section. They would not make the purchase until a kind of constitutional law should have been enacted for the protection and government of the people who should settle in the Territory. When Dr. Cutler arrived in New York, where Congress was in session, a bill sketched by a committee of which Nathan Dane was chairman, on which, however, no action was likely soon to be taken, was placed in his hands for such changes as he might see fit to make. It was in the form of a compact between the future settlers of the Northwest and Congress. The third article of the compact has the following clause:

"Religion, morality and knowlege being necessary to good government, schools, and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." The compact was enacted July 13, 1787. Fourteen days later an act was passed by which Congress sold to the

company 1,500,000 acres of land, making reservations within the tract as follows:

Two entire townships of good land for a University.

Lot number sixteen in every township for schools.

Lot number twenty-nine in each township for the purposes of religion. Other reservations were made for future disposition.

The precedent here established has been followed ever since, and in it we see the explanation of what our own city has become. Upon this legislation its existence was suspended.

I shall not trace the ordinance further than to observe that a passage in its sixth article reads as follows:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." To justify the remark made above that if Jefferson's bill had become a law, slavery could never have been dislodged from this region, I have only to remark that when General Harrison was governor of the Indiana Territory, application was made to Congress for permission to introduce this institution into the Northwest. It was represented that nine-tenths of the people were in favor of it. Congress refused, John Randolph, chairman of the committee to which the matter was referred, having reported against granting the prayer of the petitioners. So we see how narrow a chance this whole section twice ran of being slave Territory.

A few touches of the word-painter's brush would show how alien was the life of this colony to the conceptions of our day. The advance party of twenty-two set out early in December, having fired a salute in front of Dr. Cutler's house in Ipswich.

They were mechanics, including some boat-builders. They reached about the end of January a place called Sumrill's Ferry, near Pittsburg, where they began to build a boat. At this point they were overtaken by the next party. These latter, arrested in their passage of the Alleghanies by deep snows, had been obliged to stop and build sleds. On the 2d of April they all embarked, sixty-five in number, and arrived on the 7th at the mouth of the Muskingum. Here they were to build their city which they proceeded to lay out. Dr. Cutler had suggested for this the name Adelpia, thus indicating his hope that brotherly love could prevail in it. The people were romantic and called it Marietta, a combination of the two names of the unhappy queen of France, Marie Antoinette. Pedantry cropped out in other names. The large public square was called Quadranon; the small one Capitolium; the street leading from the square was called Sacra via, the fort with its enclosure, Campus Martius, French, Latin and Greek being thus curiously mixed in christening the colonists' capitol.

It is refreshing to visit in conception the scene of this first Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Northwest. There were several generals of the Revolution, more colonels and majors and still more captains in the small number of the settlers. The war had reduced them to poverty. These men lived in log huts, chiefly of one room and a garret. They might have been seen in summer clad in tow trousers and frocks, driving their oxen at logging or plowing, while in winter the peltries yielded by their hunting and trapping were most conspicuous in their raiment.

The whole aspect of the place was martial. The Rev. Mr.

Story was escorted by a guard with martial music to the place of worship, as also when he preached elsewhere than at Marietta. Who were the elite and in what trim they appeared at the receptions of General St. Clair, the governor, at his log castle on the Campus Martius, I cannot say with authority. Mrs. St. Clair did not come on from their Pennsylvania home. Her daughter Louisa, of about eighteen years, when her father came to Marietta, was doubtless the head of the social life of the young. She was exercised in all athletic sports, as if she had been trained in the camp life of her father. In skating she equaled the young men in fleetness, while she excelled them in grace. With her rifle she could clip the head from the partridge and bring down the squirrel from the highest tree-top. She mounted the wildest and most spirited horse, dashed at full gallop around the Campus Martius and through the open woodlands, leaping the logs and other obstructions. Whether Louisa St. Clair, in the wildness of her frontier life, ever did as the newspaper reporters some forty years ago described a certain distinguished literary lady as doing in a horsehack journey from the Atlantic to California - "rode with one foot on one side of the horse and the other on the other side" - is not known to us; but dressed for the purpose this has been often done. In other accounts of pioneer life I shall have occasion to notice equestrian customs of both sexes now no longer known and so omit them here. Certain it is that no freedom of frontier life corrupted the austere morals of this first settlement of the Northwest. Miss St. Clair was also fleet of foot and ranged freely the forests like the fabled Diana of the old Mythology. The humbler classes of the young joined in some of these athletic



pastimes, especially in evening rowings on the river, sending their merry songs floating over its surface, when their anxious mammas at home were in torment at their venturing so far, in times of Indian hostility, from the protection of the Campus Martius.

If readers shall ask what this all has to do with the history of our city, I have only to entreat their patience with me until they shall learn that, besides having procured the enactment of the fundamental law, men of this settlement were most prominent in the first measures looking to our own University, now the chief adornment of the town whose founding & development I am to sketch. Nor do I hesitate to affirm that no other removal of our people from the Atlantic westward has had so deep a significance as that which founded the settlement on the Muskingum. It determined what the future city of Ann Arbor was to be.

### III. THE WEST OPENED

The settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum was premature, except as preparing the way for the enterprise of a coming generation. It was, indeed, no great hardship for people who had braved the perils and trials of the Revolution that they had to be four months in reaching their destination. To be upset in snow, or to be obliged to walk most of the way, as many doubtless were, and be tumbled into the streams, was little more than fun. And it seemed at the time rather a blessing than otherwise that they had almost nothing to transport. And even to be shut up to live within themselves, without an accessible market was a misfortune which they met with wonderful fortitude. The Mississippi offered no opening to traffic. The lower section

of that river was in the hands of Spain and the territory which now forms the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama, was quite as likely as otherwise to become a Spanish possession. It was at best to be the prize of a contest, if it ever became ours, and to make this great stream a channel of commerce between eastern Ohio and the North Atlantic ports, would involve endeavors almost as formidable as to make instead of each trip a circumnavigation of the globe. This river could not by any known process be profitably navigated up stream, so that the purchase of its whole line by Mr. Jefferson in 1803 did not for the time greatly mend the matter.

Nor could the line of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence be used without involving portages around Niagara Falls and between Montreal and Albany. A few articles of merchandise could be transported over the Alleghanies from Philadelphia in wagons, or on pack-horses; but to convey heavy farm-products from Ohio to the Atlantic ports by any then existing conveyance would have been to earn them a second time and that at a costly rate. The people had, therefore, nothing with which to pay for the goods they might need from the sea-board, and so got along very much without them. Salt had to be brought to them on pack horses over the mountains & cost them \$8 per bushel.

As to travel, in August 1817 President Monroe on a tour for inspecting the fortifications of the northern frontier, came up from Buffalo to Detroit, as is supposed, in a little schooner (See Waldo's President's Tour, p.263), occupying about a week, and having been entertained in the latter city by a ball and other festivities given in his honor, he set out with Governor Cass, General Macomb and General Brown on horse-

back from Detroit for Washington. Behold these three dignitaries, thus traversing the woods of Eastern Michigan, Central Ohio, and the mountains of Pennsylvania and Maryland, when it would have taken thirty days for the exchange of communications between the Chief and one of his executive servants at the Capitol, all which can now be leisurely done in thirty minutes! And yet the gratulatory speeches made in this tour of the President showed about as much elation at our wonderful growth as do speeches of our day, though there was but a semi-weekly mail received at Detroit, and that was carried on horseback. The Gazette of 1817 explains in one instance its want of news by the drowning of the postman's horse in swimming a creek.

A spark scintillated in this darkness when Robert Fulton invented an application of steam-power to navigation. A miniature specimen of what is called a steamboat appeared on the Ohio in 1811 and one came puffing up from Buffalo to Detroit, not far from the time of the President's visit. But something more definite had been suggested in New York for bringing the east and west into nearer relations. It is worthy of a passing remark that conception and execution have generally gone hand in hand in our history. Charles the Great in the eighth century conceived and cherished the thought of connecting the upper waters of the Rhine with those of the Danube by a canal, thus to make a continuous water communication across Central Europe between the North Sea and the Negropont. In the nineteenth century King Ludwig of Bavaria met this suggestion of the greatest of his regal predecessors and carried it into execution. On the contrary, the hint of a water way from the Hudson to Lake Erie was not suffered to grow cold until

the canal was completed, destined to become the channel of such a current of migration as ought ever to make the years following its completion the opening of an epoch in our history.

There arose in Dewitt Clinton just at the right moment a great executive mind. I shall not sketch its processes. Clinton, then governor of New York was ready in 1817 to begin the work. It was completed in 1825, and was by the Anti-Clintonians humorously, I might even say, derisively, called "Clinton's big ditch." A barge was fitted out in October, 1825 to convey Governor Clinton & other prominent officials over the line from Albany to Buffalo to celebrate the event. An ovation, with discharge of cannon, greeted them at every stopping. This was, however, in the eyes of many an unpardonable sin against the laws of public economy, and the echoes of the moan were long heard, while those who had raised it were moving on to the great Western Canaan by the way Moses had opened.

The construction of the canal gave the first grand impulse to the Irish immigration, a real godsend to our country, for how else had our great public works been constructed? I look, therefore, with satisfaction upon the descendants of those whose arms wielded in these constructions the pick and the spade, as I see them settled in peace and comfort along the water and iron ways built by them. How their houses contrast with the shanties of rough boards, each the work of an hour, which formed so picturesque a feature of the way from Albany to Buffalo! And then to see the westward moving wave of humanity following the channel thus made for it! I ought not

to apologize for hinting a comparison with the migration of Israel; for, as this great people became in their journey mixed up with Amalek, Moab, Ammon and Edom, so the solid substratum of our westward migration carried with it a drift which it took well nigh forty years for us to become well ridded of. I refer to the host of speculators which the migration wave carried with it. In this great movement our city had its birth. We shall follow on to make note of it.

#### IV. THE FOUNDING

That elegant writer of history, Diedrick Knickerbocker, opens his History of New York with an account of the Creation of the world, assigning for this the obvious reason that if the world had not been created the renowned city of New Amsterdam would probably not have been built. I have been governed by like reasoning in the preparation of the three foregoing sketches, and so have outlined the events upon which the existence of our widely noted city was conditioned as was the building of New Amsterdam upon the creation of the world. And I may as well inform the reader right here that in illustrating the progress of the place, I may often stray into delineations of scenes in other parts, since I cannot otherwise show the manners and customs of the ancestry of our citizens. But just here the founding of our city comes in place.

During the eight years occupied in the work upon "Clinton's Big Ditch," the population of the further East was looking to Central and Western New York and in large numbers migrating thither. The commercial results of such a water-way were anticipated. Before the construction of the canal, the marketing of the heavy products of the forests and the farm was the

great mercantile problem of New York and Northern Pennsylvania. Western New York, destined to be the most productive part of the Empire state, had, till the canal began to be talked of, but a dim prospect, and until this work was complete, the problem of distant markets was not really solved, except with reference to three products, wheat, lumber and pork. The rye was drawn to the nearest distillery, the corn was fed to the pigs, the buckwheat was kept for home consumption in the form of pan-cakes and the flax and wool were spun, woven and worn by the producers. As to the three staples mentioned, the merchants built towards the Spring of each year, arks of hewn timber and rough boards which were laden with wheat and barreled pork, so as to be ready at the moment when the Spring freshet should bring such depth and current of water as to float the arks. The lumber and timber were put together in floats, or rafts, and thus, during the continuance of the freshet, which was seldom more than a couple of weeks, the Delaware and Susquehanna and their branches were alive with these floating structures destined for Philadelphia and Baltimore. The arks bearing the products of the farm were sold for lumber, and the farmers' sons, who had turned rivermen for a few weeks, returned on foot up these river courses. Gangs of robbers and counterfeiters held the forest defiles of these ways, took from many a one of these vernal rivermen their twenty dollars or so of savings, or contrived to get into their hands a currency of their own manufacture. For the more genteel, wholesale business in the highwayman's industry, the proper stage of culture had not yet been reached. On the upper confluent at least of these water courses there was no more navigation until the

next Spring's freshet. The transportation of merchandise from the tide-water cities to the interior was carried on in great wagons covered with coarse canvas, or on pack-horses.

The completion of the canal was not only anticipated by a rush into the western section of the Empire state, but a vista was opened into the future of the Northwest and the westward movement began in anticipation of the opening of the new channel of commerce. For more than thirty years the few early settlers from New England, with very small accessions from other parts, had lived in sublime isolation on the Ohio and along Lake Erie, when the grand future of the Great Northwest first dawned clearly upon the vision of the people of New York and New England and set them in earnest motion westward.

In February 1824, two men, John Allen, of Virginia, and Elisha W. Rumsey, of New York, whose acquaintance was a chance one made at Cleveland, came upon the ground now occupied by our city. The latter brought a wife who was to be the house-keeper of the company. Mrs. Allen was still in Virginia. Here they somewhat literally pitched their tent, for such was their first rude habitation. The sled on which their persons and goods had been conveyed hither, formed a part, or an appurtenance, of this transient dwelling. I shall leave the reader to conceive how the parts were combined. The ground on which this habitation was set up was on the south side of Huron Street near where this crosses the brook then known as Allen's Creek. Perhaps the reader will, with these hints, feel an adequate sense of the dreariness of the aspect of the place in February 1824. Here were one family and part of another living in a tent in the depth of winter. The scene was visibly



changed when the vernal suns and rains had restored nature's cheer. We may conceive it much as was its aspect in the early days of June after the arrival of this party. The plain on which the first village was to be built, had, by one of the unaccountable changes in forest growths, assumed the appearance of a great orchard of small-sized bur-oaks, irregularly set out. In some places they stood in clumps, then again more thinly scattered. These have now expanded their foliage. Their dense shade is here and there thickened by the wild grape-vine, which twines its tendrils about the upper branches and adds its foliage to that of the supporting oak. I leave this conception of our future city on the reader's mind, asking him only to add that Rumsey & Allen each had a log house, both, however unfinished. Then the family of a man named Smith, whom Messrs. Rumsey and Allen met in Detroit, still without definite destination, and whom they persuaded to join them in their enterprise, arrived on the ground in May. Mr. Smith's first domicile was probably made of the sled box of the Rumsey-Allen tent, turned upside down, supported on poles & having blankets suspended around it. To this may be added a view of some vigorous work looking to more substantial structures. We have here a conception of our city's babyhood. I shall close the present sketch, leaving this conception undisturbed in the reader's mind. •

## V. TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

The question, How did the few settlers get here with their households and household goods? is one which may well be answered before we proceed to notice the architecture and the social and business activities of our town. Indeed, I purpose-

ly committed an anachronism in the preceding chapter, in order that I might leave for a time in the reader's mind the conception of the original Oak Orchard, marred, or adorned - for people may differ on this point - only by two tents, for one of which a sled-box turned upside down supplied the fixed portion.

Nor does this question of travel and transportation assume any of its true grandeur until we transfer our view of it from any fixed locality, or section, and regard its contemporary march over the grand field of the movement from the Atlantic westward. Kentucky was the first section really settled on the western side of the Alleghanies, if we except, indeed, the French settlements which dotted the whole water way from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi. Daniel Boone, regarded generally as a mere hunter, was the chief engineer who laid out the road which not till about thirty years later was made passable for wagons. We may look upon Philadelphia and Baltimore as each the starting-point of a branch of this road. From the place where these branches unite, the way passes through the Valley of Virginia to the Cumberland Gap, which is near the point where the territories of Kentucky, Tennessee & Virginia meet. Thus far the direction is southwardly. The Gap passed, the way into Kentucky took a northwesterly course to the Falls of the Ohio, or Louisville, 826 miles from Philadelphia. Daniel Boone passed the Gap and entered Kentucky in 1769 & afterwards blazed the trees to show the path which the footman and the horseman might pursue. A branch of this path, here leaving the main one, held its southwesterly course to Nashville. I

give a single illustrative example of commerce on these  
bridle-paths.

The horse is now still in our time somewhat known in commerce, though fast going horses and oxen were then its main dependence. Let the reader imagine a train of nine or more horses, under pack-saddles, each laden with about two hundred pounds of merchandise, stringing along in single file by such a path. A man is with the forward horse, another with the rear one, a third between the two. The horses have bells, though these in moving are sometimes stuffed to stop their tinkling. A hopple made of a hickory-withe is kept for each horse and put on him at night to prevent his straying too far, while the bells help in finding the animals in the morning. In March 1784, such a train drew up before a log-hut in Nashville - a place which has since given three presidents to the United States. The train had been six weeks on its way from Philadelphia. I shall not attempt to hint what its lading may have been; but the reader will not fail to guess it from the prime needs of frontier life. The people of Nashville assembled about the shop to witness the novel scene of unlading and putting up the goods. General Jackson was not in Nashville until four years later; but this may have been the shop to which he sent his note asking for half a dozen pairs of "sox"; perhaps, when the articles came, he wrote "O.K.", the original of which abbreviation is attributed to him, on the bill and enclosed the money.

This mercantile method was in extensive use. A caravan, as it was called, of this kind, was once or twice a year fitted out from frontier settlements, destined for Philadelphia, Baltimore, Hagarstown, Fort Cumberland, Old Town, or

Winchester, according to the situation of the interior community sending it and such was the method between the west of Pennsylvania and Virginia and the Atlantic cities, as well as between these and Kentucky.

The route taken, as described in an earlier chapter, by the New England settlers at the mouth of the Muskingum, was as early at least as 1787, as far as Pittsburg, used for vehicles as well as pack-horse trains. This was sometimes taken by migrating parties destined for Southern Ohio and Kentucky; but it was unsafe on account of the Indians who lined the banks of the stream & fired upon the floating parties. I shall not enter into details to show either how this was, or how the bridle-path and the single horse with the pack-saddle gave way to wagon-roads. But I can safely say that men have brought families to Michigan and to the place of our own little town, in ways not more dignified, nor more comfortable than the passage of Virginia dames and their children, mounted on horses before or behind bales of goods, or on the top of these. Both of these methods alternated always and in all sections with long stretches of plodding on foot, even by women and children.

That I may not seem to the reader to have quite forgotten the subject of my purposed sketches, I will here observe that our fellow citizen, Daniel Hiscock, can give us his recollections of the journey of his father's family to this place in a wagon drawn by three horses, himself at the time a boy. They had come from Wayne county in the extreme north-east of Pennsylvania. This was in the year 1829. Nearing their destination, for Mr. Hiscock had entered his land for purchase some years earlier, they met

a boy of whom they made inquiry and who took passage with them and conducted them to his father's house, where they were hospitably entertained. The boy thus opportunely met was John W. Maynard, and Mr. Hiscock well remembers that he had at that time the same vigorous laugh which he has ever since continued so freely to exercise.

## VI. THE MIGRATION

The Rumsey-Allen party seems to have made their journey hither in a sled, arriving in February 1824. There is, however, no very definite account of this, though it is quite clear that a sled-box or wagon-box entered into the construction of the first human habitation erected on the site of the city. It would seem also clear, but for contradictory testimony, that Mr. Asa L. Smith and his wife whom Rumsey and Allen persuaded in May 1824 to join them in their enterprise, came on in their own wagon, for original witnesses testify that they lived for three weeks, that is, I suppose, slept, under a wagon-box, supported upside down on posts, the protection being completed by suspending blankets from the edges of the box. But whose wagon-box was it? for there is evidence that Mr. and Mrs. Smith came from Detroit on foot by the Potowatomie Indian trail. The county history publishes in this case, as in others, contradictory statements, leaving the reader to choose among them. It makes the Smith family to have carried all their effects upon their shoulders and makes them also to have shipped them by a flat-boat on the Huron to be pushed up that river. The latter is doubtless the true account. They brought also a little girl of one year.

This girl and her husband, Reverend Thomas Holmes, are still living in the village of Chelsea. There is little doubt that the box which formed a part of the first Rumsey-Allen habitation was the same which supplied the night shelter of Mr. and Mrs. Smith and their little Lettice; for Mrs. Smith became cook at Rumsey's Washtenaw Coffee House, then already so far along in its construction as to have been entered, and near this stood their curtained shelter, doubtless more comfortable than a place in the unfinished log hotel. Mr. and Mrs. Smith had come up the lake in a little schooner.

The family of Deacon Maynard, father of our fellow-citizen, John W. Maynard, settled in the autumn of 1824 on the farm three miles below this place on the south Ypsilanti road, afterwards known as the Ticknor farm. This family shipped at Whitesborough (Utica) New York, on the Erie Canal. This water-way was then open for traffic only as far as Brockport in Western New York, from which point the family made its way to Buffalo by wagon, up the lake by steamer to Detroit, and thence in a wagon, drawn by oxen to the place of their new home. No road from Detroit westward had then been laid out. The way was indicated by blazed trees and had begun to be marked by tracks. This journey occupied four days, the first day brought the party to Ten Eyck's, afterwards known as Dearborn; the next to the site of the future village of Wayne, where the family encamped in the open air, the next to Woodruff's Grove, one mile from the site of Ypsilanti, the next to their chosen home.

Mr. Frank Howard informs me that his maternal grandparents, Behan by name, having lived in Detroit from 1822, there bought

in the summer of 1824 a cow, strapped a feather-bed to her back, fastened their infant child upon the bed and led the cow to Dixborough, their destination. This child became Mr. Howard's mother. This Mr. Behan, so inventive & fertile in expedients, had been contractor for the building of locks at Lockport, New York.

One cannot call to mind such a scene without indulging a smile at its grotesque humor. Of course this family did not set out on their journey without the necessary stock of courage & patience to carry out their plan, & we cannot but conceive Mr. Hiscock's wife standing with her little ones surveying the scene as the goods were unloaded & carried to some knoll & the wagon taken to pieces & placed outside the mudhole, indulging in a kind grim smile over the situation, while jokes suited to the humorous situation passed between her and her husband.

The migration of the Hiscock family from near the banks of the Delaware river in Pennsylvania in a wagon has been mentioned. They were six weeks on the way, the distance being about 700 miles. Some days they made not more than ten miles. Their route was by the southern tier of counties of New York to Buffalo, thence by Cleveland, Toledo and Monroe. Near Toledo they were once so deep in the mud that they had not only to unload their wagon, but take it apart and lift it out of the mud piece by piece and then put it together and reload it on solid ground.

Thus are briefly hinted the ways and means of reaching this place and the style of the first year's life. I shall postpone any account of organization and growth in order to

consider interesting collateral matter, observing here only that in 1825 there were nine small houses within the limits of what was to be the village. I shall but mention that the place was called Ann Arbor, adjourning to another time any account of that freak in geographical nomenclature which gave it this name. One thing at this point infinitely transcends in interest all the trifling incidents connected with the founding of a village. It is that from the close of the Revolution, beginning in parts even before the opening of that struggle, the population on and near the Atlantic coast were in motion westward. Conception, taking in the whole country, cannot overdraw the picture. For short distances families are threading the valleys, making single oxen and cows their beasts of burden for carrying both persons and goods. The incident of the Behans is only one of thousands. Then came the pack horses. The bridle-paths were thronged with them. Kentucky had more than a hundred thousand people before there was a wagon road through for the migration and the pack horse system of transportation branched out everywhere to the north and south.

Of the removal in wagons I have given a single instance. But it came everywhere in its time. For their migrations the people did not depend solely on the canal after this was complete; they simply regarded this as a way of reaching the markets with their produce when they should have effected their settlements. Mr. Hiscock tells of seeing in the early years of the fourth decade of the century from where his house now stands, lines of covered wagons, unbroken from the point of their first appearance on top of the hill above the Lower



Town, till they passed out of sight westward. This state of things spread over the west and south.

The conception of the movement is, indeed, sublime. Its relation to the settlement of this place may be set forth by a reference to the great glacial action of millions of years ago, as geologists think. As this left in the bluffs on the Huron the possibilities of the finest scenery & scattered about the choicest of stone for architectural use, so the westward movement of humanity has spread abroad the choicest material for intellectual building. Here I shall leave for a time the rudimentary town and the vast westward movement on the reader's mind, while I endeavor to bring within the range of his vision some interesting collateral matter.

#### VII. AN INDIAN SOCIAL SCENE

Horace Carpenter who, on his election to the office of county treasurer in 1863, removed to his present home on Washtenaw Avenue in this city, had first settled in 1826 at a point about midway between here and Ypsilanti. His place of settlement took from him the name of Carpenter's Corners. For many years after this period the natives of the forest were numerous in this section and in their eastward and westward journey sometimes encamped in this vicinity in parties numbering from the hundreds up into the thousands. I shall have other occasions to refer to their encampments. Mr. Carpenter tells of his surprise one morning on rising to count two hundred, without counting the whole of a company, which had spent the night near his house. They had been noiseless and had done no mischief. They soon proceeded quietly on their journey.

My informant, however, tells another story which differs

materially from the foregoing, and may interest the reader. A party of about fifty came up from Ypsilanti, where they had laid in a supply of whiskey, which they carried in two tin-pails. They had also killed a deer on the way up of which they carried along the carcass in a nearly entire state. Our genial narrator went out to greet the party and was invited by the man who had the entertainment in charge to remain as a spectator, which he did. The chief man, Mr. C. calls him the marshall, the reader may call him the master of ceremonies, lord steward, or otherwise, as he shall deem appropriate - proceeded to have a fire built and the deer placed over it to roast. Around this the people were seated in a ring and so near each other that their elbows touched, waiting in this posture to consume the animal when ready for them. The meal over, the master of ceremonies went around and took from them their fire arms, tomahawks, knives and canes, or clubs - for, in prospect of the supreme delectation which was before them, they were passive in his hands - and hid these weapons in the woods. The papooses were also hid away lest they should be harmed. The whiskey pails were then passed around the circle, placed to the lips of each and all drank thereof till the supply was exhausted.

As this process was going on, the master of ceremonies and his invited spectator stood upright in their dignified posture of observation, noting and remarking upon the successive stages of that Elysian exhilaration into which the party were passing. "Gettin' little squibby," observes the red chieftain, to which his pale-faced friend was ready to assent, and so the scene proceeded, one after another dropping back-

ward upon the ground until all were prostrate and in quiet and profound repose. In the course of a couple of hours they begin one after another to throw their withy limbs about. Then they attempt to rise, though, if they succeed at all, give evidence of great infirmity both of purpose and of limbs. Something near the normal state is finally regained and, when this is so far established as to make it safe, their weapons are restored to them and they resume their march.

Now, in my studies of the history and habits of rude nations, I have occasionally found social customs which commend themselves to the careful consideration of many in our more advanced stage of civilization. The foregoing narrative describes one of these. I am not, indeed, familiar with the carnival customs of ~~that~~ class of our people who are addicted to the use of exhilarating beverages and may, therefore, err; but I am under the impression, whether right or wrong, that civilized men of our day, when they desire to seek this kind of elation, usually go without their wives, daughters and sisters. I suggest the scene described above as a lesson, and venture to indicate some details of the proper proceedings, as follows:

When any one wishes to enter into this Elysian state, let him take with him his whole family of wife, sons and daughters, down to the babies. Let the neighbors' families also be invited to join the party. I recommend the open air and a procedure after the style of that described above; that is, that a master of ceremonies be appointed, who shall himself abstain from the use of the beverage, in order that

his mind may not be too greatly elevated for attention to mundane affairs. To this man's dictation all shall yield a passive obedience. He shall take from them all offensive weapons, together with their helpless children, that these may receive no harm, and, as some civilized men are accustomed to use their fists and feet offensively, he shall bind their hands and feet, and be the sole judge as to their restoration to the normal condition. Spectators shall be admitted that they may make a psychological study of the scene. At the proper time, all shall be released, their weapons and babies shall be restored to them, and they shall return home, parents and children together, to pursue their toils, as they shall have done their festivities, in true harmony and mutual sympathy with each other.

#### VIII. NATIONALITIES

This series of sketches is designed to furnish a kind of culture history of our city, that is, to show how the elements of our population have become interwoven with each other in producing the total result. To this end the churches and schools, when reached, will be seen to supply the choicest filaments which have been wrought into the beautiful fabric; yet, before coming to these, I desire to indicate briefly how the several European nationalities have wrought together in producing the admirable texture of our American civilization in general, that the reader may be prepared to understand how the elements have combined, or resisted combination in our own development. We shall, too, further perceive where have been the faults, where the merits of the several elements of our population. As to faults, however, I shall leave each

reader to note them for himself, and shall in no instance enter into invidious comparisons of nationalities as to good or bad qualities, unless it be to minimize their faults and magnify their excellencies by indicating the adverse influences which wrought in the one, and the happier situations which explain the other.

The American population took on its character from the various shades of philosophic, political and religious opinions and life brought out by the great revolution which had its first successful outburst in the Lutheran movement in Germany, and spread thence to other countries. Three several types of thought and organic life sprang out of this outbreak; these are best represented by Germany, England and France. They grew out of the different ways in which the people were moved by the new doctrine. The Germans were converted generally by states: that is, princes and people went over together, so that the same princely government was still exercised over the same subjects. Church relations only were changed. In the case of England there was at first no change of doctrine, or life. The king, Henry VIII, simply separated himself from the papacy and assumed the direction of the English Church. Independence of the papacy opened, indeed, the way for a gradual revolution in doctrine, ritual and life; but this was no part of the monarch's original purpose. The cases of Germany and England are, therefore, each other's opposites, in that the Germans renounced the papacy as the result of a previous change of doctrine; the English gradually changed their doctrine as a natural consequence of their sovereign's renunciation of the papacy.

The French Protestants had another origin. They were converted as individual persons and, while as citizens they remained loyal to their sovereign, they had no religious head under the name of either king, or priest, but formed a self-governing body, or faction within the kingdom. They bore the several names of Calvinists, Huguenots and Reformed. Calvin himself and some of his followers fled to Geneva and there established and governed a little model republic. Those who remained in France, sometimes in their contests came near gaining the supremacy and, if they had succeeded in this, would no doubt have used their advantage for the subjugation or extinction of the Catholics, which, indeed, they did in a few places. In 1589 a prince of their own party became heir to the throne. Henry IV., for that was the name he assumed, although he was himself received back into the Catholic Church, gave his Protestant subjects a regulated freedom, defining this in a charter known as the Edict of Nantes. From the accession in 1589 of this king to the death in 1661 of Cardinal Mazarin, the premier of Louis XIV., the freedom of the French Calvinists was not greatly interfered with; but at this time Louis began a determined effort at their extinction, and in 1685 revoked their charter and required their return entire to the old Church. The final issue of this persecution was to make most of the Swiss Cantons and some of the German states, together with Holland and England, Calvinists, and to make the British colonists in America not only Calvinists, but in the end a republic. I will indicate the steps.

The persecution created the Calvinistic republic of

Geneva and finally established Calvinism in most of the Swiss Cantons. It also made Holland and several of the smaller German states Calvinist. So, too, most of the English and Scotch people. The change in the British Isles was brought about by a double process. When Mary I. came to the British throne in 1553 she restored the country to the papacy, and a considerable portion of the Church of England priesthood fled to the Continent where they became initiated into the full fellowship of their Calvinist hosts. The letters and pamphlets which they sent home indoctrinated great numbers of the English people. When in 1558 Elizabeth ascended the throne, she showed herself as much of a persecutor as her sister had been, directing her shafts somewhat against the Catholics, but more against the Calvinistic party in the Church of England. Her successors, the Stuarts, followed in the same track, so that English exiles were abroad learning more fully the same lesson and sending it in various forms home. John Knox, who had received the final form of his doctrine from Calvin at Geneva in the reign of Mary I., carried Scotland with him over to Calvinism. But greater than all, the persecution in France, chiefly that of Louis XIV., sent from its beginning in the middle of the 16th to its close near the end of the 18th century, about 600,000 of his subjects as refugees to Protestant countries, 75,000 to Brandenburg, 100,000 to Holland, about as many to England, considerable numbers to the smaller German states and to Denmark and Sweden, many to the West India Islands and not a few directly to the British American provinces, while, of those who had first taken refuge in other Protestant lands, many finally found their way to

this country, bringing with them far greater numbers whom they had Calvinized in the lands of their exile, especially in Holland and Great Britain. The great body of the early colonists were, therefore, Calvinists, made up of the French Huguenots and those of other nationalities who, as indicated above, had accepted their faith. Even those who were of the English Church, represented its Calvinistic section, to which also King William and Queen Mary belonged. Besides these, there was, indeed, a small colony of English Catholics on the Chesapeake whose residence in England had been made uncomfortable by the persecution which they suffered.

Let the word Calvinism be rightly understood. It has come to indicate merely a certain notion of the Divine Sovereignty. But this was only a single Calvinistic idea, and but a mere fragment of the system. James Arminius of Holland, still a Calvinist, did not agree with this view of Calvin. The Methodists, organized by John Wesley, protested against it, yet they sprang out of the great body of the English and American Calvinists. Still more to my purpose, the Calvinists, having in the strict sense neither priest nor king, formed even in France a kind of rudimentary republic. They were reproachfully called Huguenots, which word is but the German Eidgenossen, with such change as a French tongue would put upon it. It was the name given to the Swiss confederated cantons. To call the Calvinists Huguenots, therefore, was to call them confederate republicans, and they were so called because they drew their chief instruction from Calvin and Beza of the Genevan Republic. Furthermore, and more to my purpose; at Nimes, in southwestern France in 1574, was formed



a veritable republic. This was made up of the Huguenots of France and those moderate Catholics who in that fearful crisis in the reign of Henry III., made their ecclesiastical connection subservient to the higher interests of the state and were for this reason called "Politiques." They conquered in the end and placed their leader, Henry of Navarre, or Henry the Great, as he came to be called, upon the throne.

Thus it appears what the process was which supplied the first population of our country, and what tendencies to republican institutions had appeared in the elements which were to form our republic long before this was thought of.

Returning now to the attempt of Louis XIV. to extinguish the Huguenots, I ought to add that this was a marked instance of what Bishop Keane, in his able lecture in University Hall in April 1892, called Caesarism. Louis did not take these measures to build up the papacy but to break it down. His purpose was to extinguish the Huguenots, limit the power of the pope and establish absolute monarchy on the ruins of both. Pope Innocent XI. perceived this and so joined the alliance headed by the Protestant William of Orange against Louis XIV. As a result of sending so great a portion of his people into exile to educate and aid the Protestant and irritate the Catholic powers and the pope, Louis lost his cause in Europe, prepared the way for the loss of the French possessions in America, and most of all was the great providential agent in sending hither some of the choicest material of our great republic. The elements of our population mentioned above, and these were the chief ones previous to the Revolution, have become so assimilated that they are no longer distinguishable

except by those who have been curious in preserving their family traditions, or are skill-ful in the linguistic process of detecting nationalities by names. The nationalities already indicated are the French Huguenots, the Anglo-Saxons, the Hollanders and the Scotch, including in these latter the Scotch-Irish, or those from the Irish province of Ulster. Another people began to make their appearance upon our arena about three quarters of a century before the Revolution. I refer to the Germans. Reckoning from the 5th century onward, they will doubtless be by far our largest element. I shall proceed next to trace them, for they outnumber any other single nationality in the population of this place.

#### IX. THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION.

The largest element in our American population is the Germanic. In merely noting those who are still called Germans we obtain a very imperfect idea of the extent to which these people have entered into the formation of our institutions. About the middle of the fifth century German tribes, chiefly the Angles and Saxons, conquered the old Britons, held the country, and named it Angleland, now shortened into England, after one of the tribes. They developed there a language still generally known as Anglo-Saxon. Early in the eighth century a Saxon monk born in Devonshire, England, led in the Christianization of the continental Germans eastward and northward of the Rhine. His German name, Winfred, gave way to the Latin Bonifacius and he has become known as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany.

A little later in the fifth century a German tribe, or, as some think, a confederation of tribes, known as the

Franks, conquered Gaul and from them the country still bears the name of France, which may indicate the extent to which the Germanic element has entered into the formation of the French people. Their king is known to us as Clovis. It was more properly Chlodowig which in German became Ludwig, and in French Louis and in both forms has remained a kingly name. Even before Clovis there were Germans in Gaul, especially the Burgundians in the east and the Visigoths in the south. The Hollanders and Swedes are also Germanic, and so when we consider the German element in our early English and French settlers and that this had been the ruling one in the European homes of these two peoples, and then further bear in mind that the Hollanders and Swedes were almost pure Germans, we shall get an idea of the extent to which Germanic blood prevailed in those early settlers of this country who came under other names and had been merged in other peoples.

It was about twelve centuries from the time when the Angles and Saxons took leave of their continental kindred and settled in England to that in which the Germans from the continent began to gather for a reunion in the American wilderness, and nearly as long from the time of the Franks merging themselves with the Gallic tribes to that of their rejoining their German relatives in America.

The continental Germans were not among our first settlers. They were at home chiefly in interior and not a maritime people. More than this, in 1618, a war broke out, since known as the Thirty Years War, which left Germany with scarcely half its former population, while extensive

districts were waste and grown up to heather and forests, leaving vacant lands for the people without their seeking such in the American wilderness. And here I am reminded of another nation, or rather person, who did more than any other ever so quickly did to make possible the development of our people as we now see them. The Thirty Years War, opened in 1618, soon became on one side a contest for the extinction of Protestantism, on the other for its life. The extinction had been substantially effected in Germany & the Emperor Ferdinand II had begun to execute the Edict of Restitution, dispossessing the Protestants of their institutions, when in 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, landed on the Pomeranian coast with 13,000 men & in two years & five months made a hopeless cause a triumphant one. In November 1632 he fell at Luetzen, near Leipzig; but in this brief period he had wrought results which leave no man but Alexander the Great with whom he may be compared. He had, besides his own victories, formed alliances with other powers, especially with France, by which the war was carried on to its termination in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Gustavus had settled a colony of Swedes in this country, on the Delaware, but that was not his real contribution to our country's history; what he did was to save Protestantism from extinction & so preserve a material for the formation of such a people as we have now become. The German Protestants retain a lively sense of what this man wrought for them. They have even erected a monument of it in their great Home Mission movement known as the Gustav-Adolph Verein. #

-----  
 #See Gindely's History of the Thirty Years War, translated by the author of this work, 2 vols, 8.00 Putnam's, 1884, for a view of what Gustavus achieved.

A few Germans as individuals had come to this country a little earlier; but the way to their more general immigration was opened by William Penn. As early as 1677, having previously obtained from Charles II a grant of the province of West Jersey, Penn went over to the Rhenish German provinces in quest of settlers for his forest lands to which he had given the name of Pennsylvania. He had some success in preaching his doctrine in the neighborhood of Frankfort and a colony of those who attached themselves to him formed in 1683 the settlement of Germantown now long since a part of the city of Philadelphia.

The desolation of the Rhenish Palatinate by the wars of Louis XIV. reduced to beggary great numbers of the honest peasantry of that Electorate and about 12,000 of these fled to the protection of Queen Anne in England. They had been stripped of everything and provision had to be made for them. About 4,000 of these people were sent between the years 1708 and 1714 to the banks of the Hudson and, in order to pay for the expenditure upon them, they were bound by indentures to the yearly payment of certain amounts on their indebtedness. Their chief work was the production of naval stores for Great Britain, tar being the most important of these. They felt themselves oppressed and treated as slaves, rose several times against their overseers and in the end broke up and scattered. John Conrad Weiser was a leader among these people, and for a colony of them negotiated with the Indians for lands on the Mohawk, to which they migrated and their industry soon made them rich.

Weiser had been poor and himself with the rest under

indenture. By a first marriage in Wirtemberg he had fifteen children; how many came of his second marriage I am not informed. One such marriage would settle a considerable section. One of his first wife's sons was named Conrad and became celebrated in the history of Pennsylvania as I shall have occasion in my next chapter to show. Here I only remark in regard to a branch of the dispersion which settled in Pennsylvania that they numbered about five hundred, setting out at one time from the Hudson, wandering to the upper waters of the Susquehanna, there building rafts, on which they floated down the river and joined their country people in Southern Pennsylvania, of which there were already great numbers, attracted thither by the better terms which Penn offered to settlers.

As to those further south, I only observe that one of the oldest and most thorough explorers of these parts was a German named Lederer. This man was sent on his exploration by Governor Talbot, of Maryland. He was soon deserted by those who were to have aided him in his work, but himself persevered in prosecuting it as far as the Santee River in South Carolina. He wrote a journal in Latin which was translated into English by Sir William Berkely, Governor of Virginia, and had its effect in promoting the settlement of Germans in those parts. This was before Penn's time and was to have its further influence in the future.

Few Germans in their own land look upon the elegant grounds and buildings of the Electors of Hesse-Cassel without execrating the prince who raised the money lavished on these by the hire of his soldiers to England to fight against the

American rebels. The Prince deserves the execration; we have bestowed it unjustly upon the men he sent hither. They deserted in scores, in one instance, that at Trenton, a regiment at once. Many hid themselves among their fellow countrymen in Pennsylvania, and some of our best citizens have sprung from them. Baron Riedesel, who commanded the German troops at Saratoga - if he instead of Burgoyne had been in command of the whole army, Gates would not have obtained his victory - and his accomplished wife, have given us the best accounts I have ever met with of the American life of the time, and I have seen nothing so beautifully picturesque as the Baroness' account of the court and people in England, where she was detained a year on her way to this country. There is in the University library here a copy of Madame Riedesel's Berufs-Reise nach America, a present from the Reverend Robert Conrad, of Wisconsin. The book was printed in Berlin in 1800. On the fly leaves is written an account of the volume and the giver.

I have deemed it no more than just to sketch as above the original German immigration to America as preliminary to a view of the German people here; for it was from the Pennsylvania, not from the trans-Atlantic Germans that this **nucleus** was formed.

There was one German immigration which rather from its character than its numbers is here noticed. I omit all reference to their origin as a religious body, observing only that they probably originated in some migrating Waldenses. They had escaped special notice, hidden as they were in retired valleys, of which that of Teffereck in the principality

of Salzburg was their chief refuge, till in the years 1684 and 1686, persecution against them by the Archi-episcopal government began. Now no government of that day, whether Catholic or Protestant, felt bound to tolerate what it deemed heresy, unless required by the stipulations of some treaty. Some German princes, especially the Elector of Brandenburg, protested against the Archbishop's course as a violation of the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. The Archbishop answered that there was no mention of this sect in the Westphalian treaties. It was indeed true that, although these people had the Augsburg Confession as it is in the Shorter Catechism, yet they had not been organized as Lutheran parishes. So the persecution was regarded as justified, & was continued.

In 1729, after a lull, the Archbishop vigorously renewed his persecution, continuing the same until he was rid of the whole body, said to have numbered about 30,000, for the largest number of whom Prussia made provision. But the attention of Europe was turned to the matter and General Oglethorpe, who was then looking around for colonists for Georgia, sent for fifty families of the Salzburgers, and on the 21st of October 1733, seventy-eight of these people set out from Berchtesgaden, now in the kingdom of Bavaria, as a partial response to this demand. They seem to have traveled on foot and carried with them all they possessed. The Reverend Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg had negotiated with the trustees of the London Company for their transportation and he desired to have them make his people in Augsburg a visit on their way, which they did and were there presented with three carts to make their way easier. I have no means of



knowing what these carts were; but have little doubt from what I have seen, for I have traveled over all this ground from their home in the Salzburg Alps, that they were mere hand carts, having half a dozen cords attached for as many men to pull upon and that the vehicles were used only to carry some of the heaviest packs and occasionally relieve a weary woman and child. The news of their progress preceded them and the rest of their way was an ovation. From Frankfort citizens went forth to meet them, and the procession marched two and two into the city singing hymns such as the cliffs of Salzburg had long echoed to their voices.

They passed by boat down the Main and Rhine and shipped at Dover for the New World December 28th, two months and a week after setting out from Berchtesgaden. A little less than two years after the embarkation of this company was shipped another, chiefly Germans. It consisted of Bishop Nitschman and what I suppose to have been the first party of Moravians to arrive in this country. In the ship with these were three other men, General Oglethorpe and John and Charles Wesley, perhaps making this vessel the bearer of as significant a party as ever crossed the ocean together. We shall see them and the Salzburger in the next chapter.

#### X. EARLY TYPICAL GERMANS.

The Salzburger, whom Bancroft in his history of the United States makes the mistake of regarding as Moravians, and the Moravians who settled near them in Georgia, formed the extreme south of our early German population. The former built their first town twenty miles above Savanna, piously naming it Ebenezer. Several parties followed until they had

formed a number of neighboring settlements. There were also additional Moravian immigrations to Georgia; but a contest with Spain for the possession of that region summoned them to take up arms, which would be in violation of their creed and consciences. In this crisis the renowned George Whitefield procured for them lands in Pennsylvania, to which they removed and built there several villages, the best known being Bethlehem and Nazareth. Our extreme northern settlement of Germans was that on the Mohawk formed by John Conrad Weiser's party, who had escaped from their task-masters on the Hudson, forming a line of German settlements from Northern New York to Southern Georgia. Pennsylvania had the greatest numbers of these people and became in a sense their American fatherland; but they extended over into the western neck of Maryland and down the valley of Virginia, following as, I suppose, the course of Lederer's exploration, into South Carolina. It is an interesting fact that John Wesley's falling in with Nitschmann and his Moravians on shipboard is what finally led to the organization of Methodism, so that we see here one of the mightiest factors in our then future development.

In our early accounts these settlers were generally called Palatines, because so many of them were of those dispossessed in the devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate. But not all even of those who were so called were really Palatines. To give a single instance, a settlement in North Carolina had about six hundred Palatines; but their leader, Count Grafenried, and some of the people, were from Bern, the capital of the Swiss Confederation, and the place was,

therefore, called New Bern.

The majority of these people, from the nature of the case, came over in extreme poverty and deep humiliation, and mostly without pastors and teachers. There were a few exceptions. The Salzburgers were poverty itself; but the interest awakened by their trials and their pedestrian migration across the continent of Europe, had led to the appointment for them of two missionary pastors, who were also to act as school teachers. The Moravians, too, were well equipped and organized for both religious and secular instruction, as were also those of the Society of Friends enlisted by Penn. In Virginia all were required to conform to the Church of England and the province was attached to the see of London.

In the year 1742 the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was sent from Germany to labor among the Lutherans, chiefly in Pennsylvania, as counselor and pastor. The impression made on Protestant Germany by the Salzburgers, led Mr. Muhlenberg to take passage for Charleston and visit these people in their new home in Georgia. With his spirit kindled anew by this visit he entered the province of Penn and wrote home - his letter was, I suppose, in Latin - that he found the Church "non plantata, sed plantanda" - not planted, but yet to be planted." He acted accordingly, traveling from Georgia to the borders of Canada. His will was, indeed, quite beyond his power of execution. This man, his descendants and his family alliances were uppermost in my mind when I wrote the title of this chapter - Early Typical Germans.

Mr. Muhlenberg married a daughter of Conrad Weiser, so that the Weisers, father and son, may be reckoned in the allied group. The father was the founder of the thrifty settlement on the Mohawk, the son was the most noted of negotiators in dealing with the Indians, as also the most efficient helper in preparing and directing missionaries to the various tribes. As to the three sons of Muhlenberg and his wife, the younger Weiser's daughter, they form a noted group. All were educated in Germany for the Christian ministry. Peter Gabriel, the eldest, was settled over the so-called valley churches in Virginia, having received the ordination of the Anglican in addition to that of the Lutheran church. He was well known to Patrick Henry and Washington and received a colonel's commission soon after the outbreak of the Revolution. When he preached his farewell sermon to his gathered people, he had his military uniform concealed under his clerical robes. The preacher entertained the crowd which came to hear him with pictures of the threatening relations of the colonies and the mother-country, and closed his discourse by quoting the words of Solomon: "a time for every purpose under the heaven," adding that the time for other measures was now past and that for fighting had come. Then throwing off his clerical habit, and displaying his colonel's uniform, he requested the men of the congregation to meet him at the church door, where he enlisted nearly three hundred of them for the army. He continued in the service to the end of the war, rose to the rank of brigadier general and died collector of the port of Philadelphia.

The second brother, having previously been treasurer of Pennsylvania, was president of the convention which adopted

for that state the constitution of the United States and several times speaker of the House of Representatives. Considering the influence of the father over the Germans from Northern New York to Southern Georgia, the same caught up and propagated by the sons in our Revolution, it may be doubted whether any family of that day exerted a greater power in determining the issue of that contest. The family had in it the peers of Franklin and Rush in natural science, while William Augustus Muhlenberg, a grandson of the old Lutheran pastor, known to the general public only as the author of the hymn "I would not live always, I ask not to stay" etc., has scarcely had a peer for beneficent influence in the American Protestant Episcopal Church. Conrad Weiser married an Indian woman. If this woman was his only wife and the mother of all his children, then of course the Muhlenbergs have some Indian blood in their veins. The subject is mentioned in a life of the Doctor Muhlenberg and I myself sought out in the city of Brooklyn a descendant of Weiser who bore his name and who supposes the tradition to be well founded.

David Zeisberger, one of the Pennsylvania Germans was the ablest and noblest of missionaries to the North American Indians. His term of service extended through sixty-two years' and his works on the grammar and lexicography of the Indian languages, published by the American Philosophical society exceed in value those of any other man. A non-combatant himself, his large plans in diplomacy were worth a small army to the country.

I mention one more German of the revolutionary period -

Baron Steuben - whose appointment as Inspector General of the army, was one of Washington's happiest thoughts. It brought order out of confusion. It was brought about in this manner. The Governments of Europe were written to for copies of their army regulations. The Prussian Premier wrote that there existed no printed statement such as was desired and expressed surprise that the information should have been called for, since the man who could best give it was in the American service. This was of course Baron Steuben, who was at once appointed inspector-general of the army. Strictly as he stood on military etiquette, he threw his whole soul into the work. He was present at drills & roll-calls. At one of these latter he heard the name of Benedict Arnold called and showed his patriotism by expressing surprise that a patriotic soldier should be willing to bear that name. The soldier responded that he was born to the name & knew not what to do but wear it. "Take another name; take mine," was the response of the indignant baron, & the soldier afterwards answered to the name of Steuben. Though this appointment was made in the deep humiliation of the camp at Valley Forge, a reign of order was its effect. Baron Steuben's services were recognized after the war by Congress, & he was given a pension of \$25.00 a year & 16,000 acres of land near Utica, New York, on which he died a batchelor, with his old military companions around him.

#### XI. OUR OWN GERMAN PEOPLE.

Readers will better understand our German immigrants here when they are a little better informed as to the institutions under which these people were reared in the

Fatherland. I will give a few salient features of these with anecdotal illustrations. I shall set out from Old Bavaria under the reign of Maximilian II., of the Wittelsbacher family, during five years of whose reign I lived with my family in the capital of that kingdom. The first point I shall notice is the restriction upon marriage under Bavarian law; nor shall I inquire what modifications of the Marriage laws may have existed in other principalities, since these were probably not such as to render my illustrations generally irrelevant.

The case of Margaretha Schnapp will serve my purpose. She applied for service in our family, and to the question usually put to such applicants - "have you others dependent upon you?" - she answered in the negative; we found, however, that she had a nephew, already grown up, who was about as dear to her as a son. The youth, a year or two afterwards was taken very ill, and in fear that he would be taken away from her as a punishment for her deception, she confessed in her stress to a nearer relationship. She was retained in service from the conviction that she would be more likely to behave herself honestly than would any one who might be obtained in her place, and was in the family in all nine years, five in Munich and four in Ann Arbor.

New the legislation which was responsible for most of this kind of deception was that requiring those who applied for marriage licence to show industrial savings of such amount as to promise the ability to take care of a family. The serving classes were many of them unable to do this, and, as a result, nephews and nieces, instead of sons and daughters were largely multiplied. The case of a daughter

of Margaret's sister will illustrate the point in question. She was engaged to a young mechanic; but several applications for a licence had failed of success, and finally the question was timidly put to me whether I would not loan the mother of the bride the money which would satisfy the Common Council. I raised the question whether I might not by so doing compromise myself with the city government and was assured in reply that a member of the Council had himself suggested this measure. I yielded to the request, for I was sure that the faithful girl had given her earnings to the aid of her worn out mother and invalid father. I accordingly sent word to the mother that she might come for the money. She came, and having been overwhelmed with expressions of gratitude for the proffered kindness, I handed her a hundred florin bank-note (\$40) and, as if somewhat frightened at the magnitude of the conception, she exclaimed: "O, I never had so much money in my hand in all my life: be so good as to wrap it up in a piece of paper: I am afraid to carry it." The application to the council was a little late, and a birth and baptism took precedence of the marriage; but this all over, the same bank note was handed back to me, by the mother's hand; with it came an expression of profound gratitude, and the remark: "Your money has borne good fruit" - "Ihr Geld hat gute Fruechte getragen." I do not remember that I ever before helped any one to evade the demands of the law, and if any shall be disposed to criticize my conduct in the matter, I will bear their censure; for the satisfaction I have already felt in what I did will outweigh a thousand adverse criticisms.

One point in the life of the Germans in their Fatherland



here indicated is the poverty of the people. Besides the governmental oppression, now greatly mitigated from former times, they have to live on the lowest demands of the physical being. In many of the rural districts meat is said to be almost unknown. It is a kind of treat for four or five holidays of the year. Black-bread of rye is the chief living of the rural laborer. And all, men and women, labor on the limited agriculture of the German lands. Here I must throw in some words in defense of the Germans against the charge of abusing their women. The American traveler who skims over the whole surface of the German states in a couple of weeks and never stops to inquire into that which does not lie open to sight, tells a sad story of the slavery of the women. I heard such a one in this city once from no less a man than Wendell Phillips. He did not know the people.

Let the following picture of a German rural hamlet be taken, for the people do not live generally on the strips of ground they cultivate, but are huddled together around a little bakery and inn. The baker will bake the bread of all the families of the hamlet cheaper than they could heat their ovens, if they had such to heat. The innkeeper will do their other cooking cheaper than they could do it. What shall the women do in a country where it requires the labor of all to make out a living? They have but a room or two to take care of. "But the children," says an objector, "who takes care of them?" Suppose there are a dozen families in the place; one or two women will take care of all the little children and receive as much for it as each of the others receives for her labor in the fields. Thus all the resources

of the little community are exhausted in making the ends meet.

I return from the rural hamlet to the great city. Passing along its streets, I see here and there the sign, generally at a very humble dwelling: "Kleine Kinder Anstalt." What does it mean? Simply that little children are taken care of in these places, that their mothers may go out to work. I see a Klafter of wood (two-thirds of a cord) driven up to a house and along with it, or soon after it, come a man and his wife, carrying the tools to be used in converting it into stove wood. How did this happen? Simply in this way; a servant girl was sent out to buy the wood and find a man to do the work. Perhaps this man pays her six Kreutzers (four cents) for giving him the job. He takes upon himself the heaviest part of the work, the sawing; his wife splits and piles the wood in the little wood-room off the kitchen. The job done, the pair trudge along home together and so on through their pilgrimage, each bearing according to his or her strength their share of the burdens of life. I do not aver that the women in Germany are not often made to sustain more than their just share of the support of the household; but I do assert that this is in my opinion more frequent in our proper American life than in that of Germany.

In my next chapter I shall take some five or six of the earliest German settlers of this place, indicate further the social institutions under which they had lived, and thus prepare my readers better to appreciate this very large element in our population.

## XII. EARLY GERMAN SETTLERS

The honor can scarcely be denied to Conrad Bissinger of being the first German to arrive in this place and one of the first to take up land in this vicinity. Mr. Bissinger arrived on the ground September 1st. 1825. He remembers well that in the month after his arrival on the site of this city, Dewitt Clinton, Governor of New York, made his triumphal trip from Albany to Buffalo and back, taking with him on his return a keg of Lake Erie's water, which he poured into the Bay of New York, symbolically setting forth the union of the salt water of the ocean with the fresh water of the great lakes. He remembers well the unprecedented excitement caused in 1826 by the abduction of William Morgan in Western New York, and his subsequent murder. Mr. Bissinger was born in Mannheim, the largest city of the grand-duchy of Baden, where he learned the baker's trade. On his arrival there was nothing here for a baker to do. A few log houses, with the stumpy clearings made by settlers' axes marked the site of the city, and, keeping the place in mind as that of his probable future settlement, he set out for parts where he might earn money by his trade. He went to Charleston, South Carolina, there remained three years and laid by enough to buy an eighty acre lot. Without coming on here he bought land in Scio, two or three miles from Ann Arbor. The purchase was made in 1828. The Patent bears the name of Andrew Jackson.

Mr. Bissinger did not like Calhoun's doctrine of nullification, which was then already rife in South Carolina, and he left for the North. His first vote was cast for General

Jackson as President of the United States, doubtless for his second term, and he thinks that if the country had had such a president, the civil war would never have come. He remained in the East and did not arrive here to take possession of his property until 1831. His memory held a fund which was indeed delightful to draw upon, I may still further make use of hints given me by him in regard to life in his Fatherland. Mr. Bissinger died in February 1895, just after his 95th birthday.

Daniel F. Allmendinger was the earliest of the German settlers here who was personally known to me up to the time beginning my inquiries. He came first from the old country to Pennsylvania, afterwards made his way thence, carrying in his knapsack all his possessions, to Danville in Western New York, whence he migrated hither, as nearly as I can learn, about the year 1829. A son, David by name, lives on the territorial road a little west of the city limits. Allied branches of the family are numerous and prominent in the city.

Henry, or, using the German form of the name, Heinrich Mann, brought his family to Ann Arbor in 1830. They had remained in Detroit several weeks while Mr. Mann was visiting other places in order to learn where he might settle to best advantage. Such was still the condition of the roads at the time of the removal that a team of horses occupied three days in transporting the party with their goods to this place.

Mr. Mann was a tanner by trade. He came over to Pennsylvania, leaving his family at Stuttgart, in the Kingdom of Wirtemberg. He went from Pennsylvania to the city of Mexico,

and on his way thence with the money he had earned defended himself with his fists against the attempt of an armed Spaniard to rob him. The family joined him and made their home at Reading, Pennsylvania, until they set out for their future home here. I referred in an earlier chapter to the remarkable family of the Muhlenbergs. It is of interest to note here that the Reverend Henry Muhlenberg, a grandson of the Apostle of the American Lutheran Church, whose family I have sketched, was at the time pastor in Reading and his wife was the daughter of Governor Heisler.

Mr. Mann bought the lot, corner of Washington and First-sts, where his daughter, widow of the late August Hutzel now lives, for \$12, the one next it on First-st for a pair of shoes. The family is numerous, the late Emmanuel Mann, long a partner with Christian Eberbach in the sale of drugs and medicines, was a son of Henry Mann. He once represented his district in the state senate.

Many of our German people now in the city came over as farmers and settled first on farming lands. John Koch, now with his wife comfortably spending his old age in a house of his own in the 2nd ward, is an example of the Wirtemberg farmer, though he left his native kingdom at too early an age to have been initiated into the ancestral life. Arriving in this country in 1831, he labored as a farm hand. When able to do so, he purchased 40 acres of land. This was a kind of nest egg, and he went on adding thereto, or rather, selling at an advance and buying larger farms, until he was owner of nearly a thousand acres which he conveyed to his children and came more than twenty years ago to reside in the city.

A word in regard to German tillage in the Fatherland will throw light on what we see around us. German farms, or rather fields, where the surface admits of it, are long narrow strips, often but two or three rods wide. The terminal points of their boundaries are marked by stones set firmly in the earth. No fences disfigure the landscape, and of course no land is lost between the owners. Law regulates the details of tillage. The ends of the strips most distant from the highway must be first seeded, that there may be no driving over the sown ground. Each may drive one wheel in the furrow which separates his own from his neighbor's land. Precipitous places modify the aspect, these being terraced and beset with the vine, or other small fruits. The grass is cut and conveyed to the enclosures in which the domestic animals are kept. Where the lands are thus laid out, the people live in small villages, or hamlets, and not on the farms they till, and the view of an undulating landscape thus cut up and tilled is the most enchanting conceivable. It is in summer as if Mother Nature had spread a great striped quilt over the earth's bed. The lines between farms are the seams of the spread; the foliage and bloom of the plants which cover the grounds, show all the various and varying colors of the land's flora. But the poor boy in South Germany cannot hope to have a farm for which he must pay 500 to 700 florins (\$200 to \$280) an acre; hence their settlement and thrift here, where they dig up every stump and make every foot of ground pay them tribute.

John George Schairer is one of five brothers, all named John, four of them of course known only by middle names. Mr.

Schairer came over as a youth, learned here the shoemaker's trade, and is still industriously pounding away on his lap-stone. His immigration was in 1836. He soon felt the need of informing himself of the political matters of the country, bought a spelling book and began with the English alphabet to prepare himself to gather the needed information. His memory is a mine upon which one draws with satisfaction. It is an interesting fact that his wife's sister, Mr. Ebinger, removed from here to the village of Chicago when this latter had but few houses, walking most of the way, attended by the ox-wagon which carried the household goods.

Conrad Krapf came also in 1836, but from another section, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel. He is able to add some interesting items to what I have already related of the Hessians hired by Great Britain to put down the American rebellion of 1776-1782. These men not only did not know whither, or for what purpose they were being conveyed across the water, and not only themselves did not receive the full pay for their services, but even the pensions to which they were entitled after the war, went into the hands of the Electoral government, and were never paid over to them. In the year 1830, 47 years after the close of the war, a professor at Marburg brought this fact to light, and four persons, some of them widows, who were entitled to pensions, received these until their respective deaths. It is no wonder that Germans even now when they view the splendid grounds and buildings of the Elector curse him for his oppressions.

Mr. Krapf tells of his intense sighing for freedom in his boyhood, and says that a friend, knowing his feeling,

handed him a little book, saying, "Here, Conrad, read this, and when you are through with it, hand it to no one but me." The passages which he cites from that book sound like quotations from our Declaration of Independence. Thus is explained his emigration. He was a carpenter and worked first for Richard Glazier of the Society of Friends, whose principles were nearly identical with his own. If any who know Mr. Krapf shall be inclined to regard his intensely earnest utterances against oppression and injustice as an exaggeration, let them remember that he came from Electoral Hesse.

Young mechanics in Germany, on the completion of their apprenticeship, were formerly obliged by law and during my own residence there, by custom, to travel from place to place for work. Our word journeyman probably originated in such practice. Mr. Krapf affirms my own observations on this subject. He wandered over the lands of central Europe, German and French, as a Handwerks-Bursch - for such is the term used. The supposition was that these young men would thus learn all the different kinds of work and the customs of the craft. A little knapsack contained their tools and a few articles of clothing. About a cent a night would pay their lodging in some farmer's barn. Inns - called in German Herberge - existed in all the cities with special reference to their wants. These had each its Herbergs-mutter to exercise a matronly care over them. Besides his mother tongue Mr. Krapf could command enough of French and even Latin, to make known his wants. There is a little volume written by one Holthaus, translated from the German into



English by Mary Howitt, entitled: "Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor," sketching his own journeyings for work over all central Europe and to Egypt and Palestine, from which book one may gather a fair notion of the system. I have myself seen these wanderers and talked with them from single ones to squads of a dozen. Here is one with shoes that have been picked up and are not mates and neither covers the foot; he is clad throughout accordingly and so on through the crowd. Such has been the condition from which many a one has come to this country to found a thrifty business. The late Emanuel Mann once told me his recollections of this life as observed in his boyhood. The following narrative will give the reader a better idea of the life of these wandering mechanics. When about to leave Bavaria with my family I thought to avoid those routes which all the tourists notice, so that we might see something that had not been described in books. Now the most terrible siege & the most complete destruction of the Thirty Years' War &, indeed, of all time in Central Europe, took place at Magdeburg. In that commercial city of the Elbe but a single house had been left standing. The people were long in returning to rebuild their homes & when they did so, over the portal of this solitary architectural relic were inscribed the words:- "Remember the 10th of May 1631" - "Gedenket des 10ten Mai 1631." I desired to stand in this city, look upon this house & read the inscription. I had noticed by the papers that a steamer ran on the river between Magdeburg & Hamburg. This we had arranged to take &, our observations made in Magdeburg, we stepped on board but a few minutes before the advertized hour of its departure.

The good peasant-looking captain at once came to me & said:-  
 "This, sir, is no place for genteel people like you & your family. You must have mistaken in regard to our accomodations. I told him that we had seen his boat advertized, were now on board, should not like to leave & would be content with such fare as he could furnish. He could only give us berths & our cup of coffee. Other supplies we should have to obtain for ourselves. He allowed me time to go ashore & purchase our immediate needs & as I stepped again on board, the plank was drawn in & we were in motion.

The most numerous class on board was made up of Handwerksburschen, that is, journeymen mechanics. They were clad as indicated above in worn out garments, picked up & unmatched. The boat was scarcely under way when they were engaged in gambling on the few Kreutzers which they carried in their pockets. Some were sharpers at the business & soon appropriated the last Kreuzer of the slender resources of the others. These latter, in their forlorn condition, appealed to me to assist them in recovering their lost coin, & as I, in alliance with the captain, was arranging to help them - for the case was one of robbery & criminally actionable - I saw, as we lay at dusk of evening at a village on the river, the guilty parties slipping stealthily into a skiff & making for the shore, where they doubtless found lodgings in some barn. I could only caution the victims against risking in the future their earnings in this way.

It was still true when I was in Bavaria that no one could start a business without permission from the governmental authorities, who were to judge whether such business was

demanded. This right must be paid for and it descended like other property as an inheritance in the family of the purchaser. The system was like our American slavery in this respect, that the government could not justly get rid of it without paying the holders of these charters their fair market value.

Christian Eberbach came to this place in 1838. He was educated in Stuttgardt for an apothecary, which business did not exist here, as separate from general merchandise. He did not at once set up for himself, but was for a while clerk for William S. Maynard, and afterwards established his present business, Emanuel Mann having been associated with him as partner. The parents of the late Philip Bach, our dry-goods merchant of longest standing, were farmers from the Grand Duchy of Baden. They came to Pennsylvania in 1829, here in 1835. One cannot but remark how many of our German settlers are found first to have been attracted to the original settlements of their countrymen in Pennsylvanis, whence they have moved westward.

Auerbach's novel entitled Auf der Hoehe, has been set down in a list of the ten best novels ever written. It doubtless pictures the court life under Maximillian II of Bavaria. The story of Margaretha Schnapp and her son, of which I gave a hint in chapter XI of these sketches might be made the basis of an equally graphic picture of the popular life of the same period. For, to the details of her life in Bavaria, which I have but touched upon, should be added those of the years spent in this country. When we were about to set out for home the son was off in the wandering life of a journeyman shoemaker, and could not be reached by letter.

Meanwhile she had spent the money she had laid up in our service, and I sent the means for both to come over. This is doubtless the only instance which ever occurred in Ann Arbor of the heads of a family being addressed as Gnaediger Herr and Gnaedige Frau; these terms of respect she always continued to use.

In the early summer of 1868 the German Methodist pastor here received a letter from a former parishioner, asking him to suggest some one who would make him a good wife; Margaret was named. My daughter got up an entertainment for the occasion, and she and another young lady served a party of about twenty, seated at the humble pastor's table, and our Margaret became the mistress of a good farm-house in Ohio. Some 15 years had elapsed, and, about to die, she called her son and instructed him what to write me when she should have passed away. The letter would have done honor to a college graduate, & yet it was from one of those mechanics whose condition as journeyman in their native land I have described.

The notice of other prominent Germans I shall reserve till I come to treat of the rise of the churches.

### XIII. THE IRISH

The site of our now beautiful city was left in my sketch as in the year 1825, with only nine houses, and these of logs. I have allowed this conception to rest undisturbed in the reader's mind, while I have directed his attention to the early ways and means of travel and transportation, so as to indicate the condition, not of one narrow precinct, but that of the country. I then thought best to sketch the

nationalities which had begun to add themselves to the already assimilated American population. In treating of the Germans now so multiplied among us, I deemed it worth while to view them in the lands from which they came, that their development here might be better appreciated. I had thought to sketch also the Irish; but now deem this a work of supererogation; for who does not know the genial Irishman? No subject of foreign politics has been so kept before the American people as the relation of Ireland to the united kingdom; none in our domestic condition since the administration of President Monroe, has been made more a staple in our domestic politics, than the influx and attitude of the Irish. I must give them a few touches.

Our American Irish people offer, indeed, a fine field for the display of verbal rhetoric, which, however, is not my forte. This much may, nevertheless, be summed up of them. In the early Christian centuries they were in advance of the people of Great Britain. They planted their Christian educational convents in the north of that island. The Irish Monk, Columban, and his coadjutors, first as missionaries effectually planted the Christian system in the Vosges mountains of Eastern France, and then among the people to whose land on Lake Constance he was exiled. Thence he went on the same errand over the Alps into Lombardy, which his associate, also an Irishman named Gallus, founded the monastery of St. Gall, named for him, which was for centuries the greatest light of the Swabian lands.

In the reign of Henry II. of England, now more than seven centuries ago, the Irish people were subjugated and from that

day to this have been more or less downtrodden, and for three centuries by a Protestant government. Thus they were reduced to a state of wretchedness, such as has been little known in modern European life. This was their condition, when, about 1817, their grand inflow into the American states began. Their real mission to this country was first to build our great throughfares, and then to settle in comfort along their lines.

It was about the year 1830, that the work on the Chemung canal, on the line of which our family lived, was begun. My father was for twenty years, including the time of this work, overseer of the poor for the township which embraced what is now the city of Elmira, in central New York. The men who opened the work on this canal came largely direct from Ireland, with just what they had on their backs and that scarcely covered them. A vigorous young Irishman was taken sick soon after his arrival on the ground, and father, finding at the time no other place for him, brought him home to our comfortable farm house, where he soon recovered, and his pithy observations and true civility supplied some of the pleasantest recollections of my boyhood.

The law of that day required the concurrent counsel of a justice of the peace, which office was held at the time by Hiram Gray, who afterwards became one of the most prominent men of the Empire state. Father called one cold winter day at his office. It was the first winter of the work. The contractors had dismissed their men with no accumulation, and they were suffering. Mr. Gray reported as follows: "A man has just been here for help." He says: "Yer

Honor! I want a little hilp. The cowl'd wither is comin' on hotter and hotter. I've not a coat to me back, and If I live long, yer Honor, I'll die soon. Will yer Honor plase give me a ricommend to the poormaster?" "I think Mr. Ten Brook, you'll have to do something for the poor fellow." The justice's report is simply his own improvement upon the earnest and eloquent appeal of the Hibernian. My father's accounts of his visits to the shanties were replete with the blessings pronounced upon him. The bulls reported of them, were often either their own conscious turns of wit, or they were the versions which fun-loving Yankees had given to their discourse.

The years 1849-51 may well be deemed to mark an era among our Irish people, on account of the promptness with which they responded to the mission of Father Matthew, in the cause of temperance.

The first settlement of Irish farmers I ever knew is that which has its centre in the neighboring town of Northfield. This city's population has often been replenished from it. The brief sketch I have now given will answer fairly well for the whole Irish immigration to this country. The humor of the Irish has become proverbial & specimens of it are so widely dispersed that it might be difficult to give a local one that should be new; I offer, however, the following;- An old man here by the name of Mead, a fine player on several musical instruments, a good singer; pious, withal, & in every way a worthy man, had, in the days of ague & fever & the other trials of backwoods life, fallen into a habit of drinking. This, though, he did not drink to real intoxication, was a great trouble to him & he had been

unsuccessful in his attempts to break up the habit. He at last made the desperate resolve to enlist as a musician in the army of the Potomac, with a determination that he would not touch a drop that could intoxicate after leaving Ann Arbor. He had been but a little time at the seat of war when General Meade was first definitely heard of here; in a few days followed the news of his victory at Gettysburg &, a company of Irishmen being together, one of them observed:- "Well; the old fellow did do pretty well for the first toime, didn't he?" All concurred with hearty cheers for their fellow townsman, each made his own observations in regard to the glorious issue of the old man's first campaign.

#### XIV. ARRIVALS

The most imposing of all the early arrivals on the site of our city, if, indeed, there has ever been another of equal impressiveness, was that of the wife & parents of Mr. John Allen, the founder, already noticed in connection with Mr. Rumsey and family. The following extract from a letter of Mr. James Turner Allen, for which I am indebted to the kindness of George C. Maynard, of Washington, D.C., will best state the case.

"My father and family arrived at Ann Arbor, Mich., (then a territory) on the 16th day of October, A.D. 1824, and at that date Ezra Maynard with his family were at Mallet's Creek, living in a bark shanty. We passed his place on our way to Ann Arbor, and I remember my attention was directed toward the bark shanty, on account of seeing so many nice looking girls coming out of it. They came out to see us pass with our great Pennsylvania covered wagon, drawn by



four horses, and the driver riding on the near wheel horse. We also had a horse and buggy, and three riding horses. It made quite a show for a new country. In crossing the creek (there were no bridges in those times) our wagon stuck in the mud, and our horses could not pull it out. Mr. Maynard hitched his yoke of oxen on and helped to draw it out. I understood at the time and since, that he had arrived with his family some two or three weeks previous. He had come on before his family to prepare for them a home. He had the log house (hewed logs) up, but it was not covered, and was not tenantable, so they had to occupy the shanty."

It was in 1825 that Ann Arbor is said to have consisted of nine log houses. It will be observed that the arrival described above was in the Autumn of 1824, about eight months after that of Messrs. Allen and Rumsey. In order that the reader may obtain an idea of the aspect & interior life of the place in which the arrivals now to be mentioned were made, I will introduce him into the most genteel of the houses, that of John Allen, as it was the beginning of November 1824. The account is taken from Mrs. Harriet L. Noble, who together with her husband, a little girl of three years, an infant of nine months, and Mr. Noble's brother's family, which consisted of himself, his wife and six children, formed a party migrating hither from the state of New York. This party had come up the lake from Buffalo to Detroit, in seven days, jammed together in a little schooner. Two days' stay in Detroit and three days of walking, attended by an ox-wagon which conveyed the children and the goods, brought them to their destination. It was just fifteen days after the

imposing arrival described in my last of the Allen family from Virginia.

Mr. Allen kindly took this party of twelve persons into his house, which was as yet quite unfinished. It was of two apartments, the ground floor and the loft, or garret. With the accession of these two families, the tenants of the mansion numbered fourteen men, and twenty-one women and children. There were two bedsteads with their beds in the house. These two provided for four persons, perhaps more. The remaining thirty, or thereabout, spread their beds upon the floor, and were conveniently divided into families, or smaller groups, by the suspending of sheets to separate their several allotments. The tenants of the house all laid to rest, the two floors were quite covered with prostrate human forms. Some limbs which were rather long for the boundaries assigned them, in the unconscious state of their owners, trespassed upon the domains of others. And then, if in the unrest of the night any rose and moved about, it could not but be that feet were stepped upon and various noises, which are best described as growls, groans and screams, testified in the darkness of an animated life in the prostrate mass. Such, however, was the necessity, if not the charity of each, that no evidence survives of any breach of good-humor. There was but a small box-stove in the house and the cooking was done in the open air, so that we may conceive the several families, collected from their night's attempts at rest and grouped around their respective fires outside, enjoying nothing in common but their smoke. The famous house thus described stood on the northwest corner

of Main and Huron-sts. James T. Allen bought the house and lot of his brother John, and paid him \$300 for it, but I find nothing to indicate the date of the transaction. Thus the aristocratic life of the place is briefly described. A bank now occupies the site of this house.

As I have before had occasion to indicate, the Erie Canal was completed in 1825. In 1826 the father of Daniel B. Brown, which latter still survives among us, brought from Syracuse by way of the canal and lake a cargo of salt to Detroit and wrote for his son to come on with another cargo. The merchandise found a ready sale at \$4 the barrel. The son hired a horse, rode to Ann Arbor, determined to make it his home and having returned to Western New York, came on again the same Autumn. The speculation in salt suggested the place and supplied in part, at least, the means of starting a business here. Early the next summer Mr. Brown went back to his old home and returned with a wife. They took their first meal in Rumsey's Coffee-House, and have lived in the place ever since, doubtless the first settlers within the limits of the city who now remain here. They are now (1894) passing the 69th year of their life together in the place.

Daniel F., the father of David Allmendinger, as the true story runs, walked from Danville in Western New York, through Canada in 1828 and again in 1829, to Ann Arbor. In one of these journies he found the region he was traversing inundated, the water being knee-deep for a considerable distance in the road. At this point he considered his life to have been saved by the water; for wolves, to the number

of a hundred or more, as he thought, thronged the edges of the water intent upon making him their prey, but would not enter the water after him.

In 1830 Mr. Allmendinger removed his family hither. He bought a yoke of steers, but had nothing to feed them. Hearing of a man who had some wheat chaff, he went to see if he could buy it, wearing on this errand a pair of new boots. The owner of the heap of chaff offered it for the boots, or a pair as good. Mr. Allmendinger wore his boots home, put on an old pair of shoes, returned for his purchase and closed the transaction by delivering the boots. The improved story, as I had it before I took a long walk to learn it from Mr. Allmendinger's son, was that the purchase was a stack of hay, instead of a worthless heap of chaff, and that the buyer took off his boots and walked home bare-foot in a frosty morning. The one story makes the buyer pay several times the value of the chaff; the other gives him a stack of hay for a fraction of its value. The reader may choose between the stories; I accept that of the son who was a lad of about eight years at the time of the purchase.

#### XV. THE NAMING.

Various freaks have in all ages dictated the names of places. The man, for instance, who had charge of the surveys in Central New York, was either very familiar with the names of classic antiquity, or else had a classical dictionary at hand, and has almost exhausted the resources at command especially those of Rome, in the distribution of names. Utica, Ithaca, Delphi, Rome, Syracuse, Palmyra, Homer, Virgil, Cato, Manlius, Tully, together with the names of the lesser

lights of the Republic even to those of Sempronius and Camillus, have been bestowed upon places in this section. Of the prominent Roman names only those of the Caesars were omitted, thus showing the intensity of the republican spirit which dictated the selection. The Revolution had succeeded, the American Republic had been established and the names of the Caesars, great as they were, since they had transformed the model ancient Republic into a military monarchy, were not to desecrate the soil of this section of our country.

Another system, or rather, taste, has dictated the names of Michigan. Washtenaw, the name of our county, has been variously explained. Though it came through the Indians, the most generally accepted opinion is that it originated in an Indian corruption of the name of Washington. French and Indian names and those of American statesmen are prominent in the state. President Monroe's visit in 1817 probably suggested the naming of a county and village through which he passed on horseback on his return to the capital. In President Jackson's time counties were named after him, the Vice-president and all the members of the cabinet, so that we have the counties of Jackson, Calhoun, VanBuren, Cass, Ingham, Eaton, Barry, Branch and Berrien, if not named all at a batch, yet nearly so.

But I return to Washtenaw. If we look for him who was really its first settler of European descent, we shall be obliged to ascribe the honor to the Frenchman, Gabriel Godfroy, who, in company with two other men, set up a house for trade with the Indians on the South side of the river where the village of Ypsilanti afterwards sprang up, and in 1825 the legislative

Council designated this house as the place to which the voters in Washtenaw county might resort to deposit their ballots for a territorial delegate to Congress. The settlement of the county really began about a mile below this place on the river. The place took the name of Woodruff's Grove from the leading man of a colony of five families who settled there in the Spring of 1823. When an organization was effected, the Greek Revolution was much talked of and the township took its name from the Greek General, Demetrius Ypsilanti, as I suppose, though there had been three other men of distinction in the family. The name belongs to modern, not ancient Greece. Classic antiquity is little honored in our names, though we have a township called Scio from one of Homer's numerous birth-places. Into sacred antiquity we go still further back, for we have a township called Salem, the name of the city where the mysterious Melchisedec reigned in the days of Abraham. This Hebrew name, signifying Peace, was doubtless applied in this instance from the deep religious spirit of the first settlers in that town. About the time of the settlement of the county the people were reading O'Meara's Voice from St. Helena, and so named a township in honor of the young Corsican who led the French forces over the bridge at Lodi.

For the naming of our city and township we should scarcely find a historic precedent. There can be no doubt in regard to the general facts about the naming, though speculations have varied in reference to details. There has been truth in all the views taken. People talk about the names of their children before the day of the christening. So in this case.

The beautiful bur-oak grove spread over the whole plain, the aspect of particular clumps, festooned with the wild-grape vines, the first life under the sled-box, with its blanket hangings and arboreous adornment, and the name Ann, common to the two women, all doubtless tended to fix the name of Ann's Arbor to the home; but it required something a little more formal to attach it to the township, and the future village and city, and I am glad to be able to state with no little assurance how this occurred. On the fourth of July 1825 there was here a celebration which drew together the population of the county. Ezra Maynard read the Declaration of Independence, Judge Dexter delivered the oration. The prayer and singing were not omitted, in which latter Mr. Maynard's daughters - there were six of them - took the leading part. Three hundred persons sat down to a dinner at Rumsey's Washtenaw Coffee House. Mr. Maynard and his wife wrote in glowing terms to their son, William S., then in Whitesborough, New York, describing the scene. Extracts from this letter tell the story.

One little episode connected with the scene remains, however, to be told, and the evidence for it would soon die out if not recorded. Calvin Chipman, then of the town of Lima, was present, and years afterwards related the incident to Governor Felch. The two Anns, he said were there. They had had the chief merit in decking the natural arbor for the occasion; indeed the whole site of the town was then as yet arboreous; this merit was acknowledged, the naming of the future town was bespoken and a general assent, if not an acclamation fixed the name. So the 4th of July, 1825 may be regarded as the day of the Christening festival of

our city. Mr. Chipman thinks this scene occurred near where St. Andrew's church now stands. Perhaps I may yet show that the development of the city and its institutions has been as unprecedented in the history of civilization, as is the name Ann Arbor in geographical nomenclature.

#### XVI. ASSUMING ITS RANK AS COUNTY-SEAT

Ann Arbor, before it received that general sanction of its name given by acclamation on July 4th, 1825, was destined to be the seat of justice for the county. There seems also to have been entered in the Register's office at Detroit a record of the plot in May previously, probably under the name of Ann's Arbor. A square each for court-house and jail had been reserved. Huron street was at first assumed to be the future centre of its life. This divided the two farms first taken up, that on the north side of the street, by Mr. Allen, that on the south, by Mr. Rumsey. The square for the court house was given by Mr. Allen, the same on which the present court house stands. It was early enclosed, but was for some years a cornfield, as citizens now living remember. It may also have been under other crops during the considerable period that elapsed before it was demanded for its distinctive purpose.

The square for the jail, given by Mr. Rumsey, was that enclosed by Liberty and William, and Fourth and Fifth streets. This place was early occupied by such building as the resources and taste of the time dictated. Ditches were dug around a piece of ground of the desired size. In these were set tree trunks rising to the intended height of the structure. These trunks formed the outer walls of the building. Over them a roof was placed, and within



were fitted up accommodations for the jailer and, as I suppose his family, which needed not to be very sumptuous, unless they were to excel all else in the inceptive village. Other interior work was added for prisoners, and the provision may be supposed to have been quite equal to aught then enjoyed by those who remained at liberty and had to provide their own quarters.

As to the courts, that which is at this day the most vexing question in municipal matters, seems to have been answerable for the first business of a judicial nature in Ann Arbor. It was in a session of the country court as constituted by an act of the Territorial Council, Samuel W. Dexter chief, Oliver Whitmore associate justice, constituting the court. Its first session was held on the third Monday in January 1827, at the house of Erastus Priest in Ann Arbor. The only lawyers mentioned in the account of this session had to be supplied from abroad. The names of Joseph W. Tong, O.D. Richardson and B.F.H. Witherell only are given. These three took at this time the oath as attorneys and counselors-at-law. Of Mr. Tong I learn nothing else. Mr. Richardson was from Pontiac, Mr. Witherell from Detroit. The only business done at this session, so far as the record shows, was that of granting tavern licenses to John Allen, Nathan Thomas and Benjamin J. Woodruff.

A grand jury was empaneled and found a bill of indictment against Erastus Priest for selling liquor in less quantities than one quart without license therefor. B.F.H. Witherell appeared in this prosecution for the people of the United States, O.D. Richardson for the defendant. The

testimony of eight witnessed was offered by the prosecution, of one by the defense. The matter was committed to the jury, who, having been out for two hours, returned with a verdict of not guilty and the defendant was discharged.

It does not appear that at the time of this first session of a judicial tribunal in the place there was resident any lawyer but James Kingsley. He had settled in Ann Arbor in 1826. He soon acquired the nickname of "Honest Jim Kingsley," which always adhered to him and, so far as I know, the unanimous verdict of the community is that he deserved the honorable epithet.

The only business of a strictly judicial nature which came before the court at its first session was the trial of Mr. Priest, as briefly reported above. The application of Reverend William Page for license to celebrate the rite of matrimony was also added to the three tavern licenses.

How the lawyers from abroad reached Ann Arbor is not anywhere stated; but I deem it safe to assume that they came on horseback. The only other supposition to be entertained for a moment is that they came on foot. This we can scarcely think of in case of men of such prominence and dignity as Lieutenant Governor Richardson and Judge Witherell attained to soon after the period here considered.

It is my aim to bring forward in these sketches just such matter as shall be most helpful to the reader's imagination in making out a view of the successive stages of Ann Arbor's development. It has seemed to me that the construction of the jail, the constituting of the court, the matter of its first action, the place of its session and the names and homes of the legal gentlemen employed,

would be items of information important for the reader's judgment. They help greatly to show what the place was in January 1827.

#### XVII. LIFE IN THE LOG HOUSE

There is no difficulty in getting at the truth as to the straits to which the early settlers were reduced in their domestic life; but it is quite impossible to get the details all right. Nothing will better illustrate the hopelessness of the search after perfection in particulars than cases of irreconcilable disagreement between eye-witnesses, whose intentions cannot be questioned. I have given an extract from a letter of James T. Allen, in which he testifies of the style in which his party from Virginia entered the place and of the impression made upon his mind by seeing so many fine looking girls come out of the bark shanty in which he says the family of Ezra Maynard was living, while the men were working upon the still roofless house of hewn logs. Mr. Allen himself afterwards married in succession two of those fine looking girls and in the absence of other testimony his word would be deemed quite decisive. And yet, John W. Maynard, the brother of the girls, says that his father and an older brother came on and built two houses, a small one of unhewn and a larger of hewn logs, before he brought on the family and that they never lived in a bark shanty. Mr. Allen's later relation to the Maynards may perhaps hint the kind of hallucination he was under in passing the Maynard villa.

The county history, after the best that I can do, will have to answer for an occasional error which will creep

from it into my sketches. Mr. Maynard is confident that no such man as Joseph W. Tong, mentioned in the foregoing chapter as having taken the attorney's oath in the first session of the Washtenaw county court, ever lived here, or elsewhere in the state. This statement may be deemed decisive so far as residence is concerned; and yet it is difficult to conceive how, if such a man was not here, he could have been absolutely created and named and his name handed down through the court records to find its way into the county history. The natural conjecture is that a vagrant lawyer of the name, being at the time here, took the oath with some thought of remaining, but instead of doing so, passed on to other parts, himself never generally known to the citizens. This supposition agrees with what we all know of the vagrancy of a certain class of people in the early movement westward.

As to resources of life, it is certain that they were sometimes reduced for short periods to about the level of the native tribes, both as to dwellings and table supplies, and, I may add, as to tables also, for the distances from which most of the settlers came made it very inconvenient to transport such articles. I myself knew of a family in good circumstances whose first log house was built around a great stump. The house was entered in the early summer without a floor, and, until towards Autumn, when the man got ready to lay his floor and had to cut away the stump, this served as their table. Many of the first houses were occupied for a time without floors, doors, or windows, the logs only being cut away that doors and windows might be put in when the material and labor could be obtained.

A Mrs. Bryan, of a family which settled at Woodruff's Grove in 1823, gives in a letter of thirty years later a description of the corn-mills used in the settlement, as follows:- "It was amusing the first fall and winter, to hear the corn-mills in operation every morning before daylight. There were two in the settlement. They were made as follows:- A hole was burned in the top of a sound oak stump; after scraping this clean from coal, a stick about six feet long and eight inches in diameter was rounded at one end and suspended by a spring-pole directly over the stump. A hole was bored through the pestle for handles and the mill was done. A man would pound a peck of corn in half an hour, so that half of it would pass through a sieve."

If I rightly conceive this ingenious structure, the spring-pole raised, or helped to raise, the heavy pestle and the man with a hand at each of the handles brought it down in successive strokes upon the grist. Information fails us as to the extent to which such domestic contrivances were used.

When a family came on together, no member having been sent ahead to prepare them a house, there were in general two ways of getting along until the house should be built. One is suggested by the bark-shanty already mentioned; for, if Deacon Maynard's family never lived in one of these, others did. What the bark-shanty was cannot be stated with exactness. This kind of structure could not be built except during that brief period of each year when the bark would peel. We have seen what kind of substitute the Rumsey, Allen & Smith families employed. Others slept in their

wagons and on the ground until their houses were built. The literal bark-shanty was probably constructed of four or six forked poles, the forks of which supported other poles upon which was laid a roof of bark. The sides were curtained with blankets. But the almost universal procedure was that called doubling up; that is, the newly arrived family shared the hut of one which had arrived before them. The reader's imagination will need no help in making out how the several families got along with the operations of toilet and cooking in a one-roomed log house without floors, doors or windows.

The building of a log house was a short job; but unless one had purchased his land before his arrival, he had to select it and make a journey to the land-office, leaving his family somewhere as guests, until the purchase was made before he could begin his work of building. As to the putting up of a house, this might have been done by three men and a yoke of oxen; for they could have rolled the logs up to their places on skids leaned against the side of the rising edifice; but the nearly universal process was to make what was called a raising. To this frolic an indiscriminate invitation was sent out; that is, not only farmers and mechanics, but physicians, lawyers and clergymen, were invited.

Morell Goodrich of Dexter furnishes me with an account of one of these gatherings of the year 1829, giving the names of actors, which need not here be repeated. The story is in substance the following: The maker of the party, the guests as I shall venture to call them, having arrived on the ground, ordered a big kettle to be filled with water,

and a rousing fire built under it, while several persons were employed in digging sassafras roots, washing these, scraping the bark of the same and throwing this into the kettle to prepare a beverage for the entertainment of the company. But it was known that this man had just purchased a five-gallon keg of whiskey, which must have been hid away for personal use. Some of the party determined that the man who provided whiskey for himself should not be allowed to entertain his guests with a simple decoction of sassafras bark, and they instituted a search, found the keg, mixed a gallon of its contents to each two gallons of the decoction, partook of this freely, did their work and went home the merrier for the discovery of the keg.

This shows perhaps not so much life in the log house, as life before the house was entered; and yet it shows one of the shifts to which pioneers here have resorted for a beverage in place of the usual tea and coffee. The foregoing description of the improvised corn-mill reveals much as to the straits to which our first settlers were brought as to their living. Of the attempts at relief it is worthy of mention that old Mr. Allen, father of the founder of the village, built a boat to run on the Huron, and thus connect Ann Arbor by a better conveyance with Detroit, and so with mills and sources of supply. But this plan was soon defeated by the construction of dams on the river, and was also rendered less necessary by the improvement of the two roads to the city of which that by Plymouth was the better.

The necessity of living even in the winter in unfinished houses, the clearing and breaking up of grounds, exposing vegetable matter to decay, the want of wells and consequent

use of what was called "mud-hole water" and ignorance of protective measures against the effects of miasma, caused ills which it would be difficult to describe, impossible to overstate. That a delicate and cultured woman, capable of writing such a story as that of Mrs. Harriet L. Noble, to whom I have before referred, should in the cold month of November drive the oxen to draw stone and help her husband build a chimney, and do this cheerfully, is pleasant to tell and awakens admiration. She tells of living three weeks without flour in the house and of her husband's consuming in the month of December, fifteen days in a trip to Detroit for flour and other supplies. The first tear she shed in these pioneer trials she says was when her little boy said to her: "Ma, why don't you make bread? don't you like it? I do." This woman during the winter foddered his cattle, her husband being disabled. The case was not solitary. In the disability of the husband the wife did his work and her own; in her disability he did the work of both. So the first settlers lived.

#### XVIII. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Christian Church has fairly proved itself the executive of the world's Divine Educational System, the regenerator of human society. It made its appearance at the time when the great Roman Republic, having then already assumed the imperial form, had become so permeated with corrupting influences and institutions that the mere politician might safely have predicted its downfall and the gradual return to barbarism of the nations embraced within its ample territory. Indeed, its great historian did this in effect in the preface of his history. Twelve missionaries of this regenerating



doctrine were first sent out and they and the accumulating bands of their disciples long operated chiefly upon the dissolving elements of the sinking empire, and the higher civilization has since simply kept step with their advance and never preceded it. The author of this educational scheme described his followers as the branches of a vine, in reference to which figure it is interesting to note the point of time at which the tendrils of the spreading branches began to entwine themselves with the population of any new community.

It was on the 21st of August, 1826, that the first church organization was effected in Ann Arbor. It was Presbyterian in form and took place in a log school house on the North-west corner of Main and Ann streets, Reverend Noah M. Wells of Detroit presiding. What meetings for religious purposes had previously occurred cannot be known in detail. Rev. Moses Clark, a Baptist minister, is said to have preached the first sermon in the place in the summer of 1825. Rev. Mr. Baughman, a Methodist, was next, the meeting being held in the house of John Allen. Of Mr. Clark I find no account except that he is also said in the County History to have preached the first sermon in Ypsilanti, in which statement he is with a somewhat questionable taste described as "a hard-shell Baptist preacher." Laurin Mills, in his reminiscences, tells of attending a religious service at which a sermon was read and a Sunday-school numbering about thirty was held, in the same log school house in which the first church was organized. This was on his visit to the place in June previous to the formation of the church. He further testifies that Miss Parsons, who afterwards

became his wife, started a Sunday-school said to have been the first west of Detroit, in the woods about half way between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti in the summer of 1825. That in this year the future village and city consisted of but nine log houses, and eight years later had but 830 inhabitants, will suggest about what the population may have been in 1826, when this church was organized. As to places of assembling for worship, the church was migratory, passing successively from the original school-house to a ball-room in a hotel at the corner of Main and Huron streets; then to an unfinished room in Cook's hotel, thence to a frame school-house at the corner of Washington and Fifth streets, and thence in 1829 to a building erected for the purpose, the first church building in Ann Arbor. It was on the present site of the Presbyterian Church, and was at first 25 x 35 feet, to which dimensions was afterward built an addition of twenty feet. It had no paint outside or within, and only the first rough coat of plastering. It had a small bell.

A list of the organic membership of the first church formed in Ann Arbor, may be of interest to some. It is as follows: Israel Branch, Mary Branch, Simeon Mills, Clarissa Mills, Bethuel Farrand, Deborah Farrand, Roswell Parsons, Agnes Parsons, Harriet Parsons, James Allen, Elizabeth Allen, Richard Lord, Orville Barnes, Temperance Roberts, Ann Isabella Allen, Phebe Whitmore and Mrs. Monroe. This list has three names of the family of John Allen, the founder, those of his wife, father and mother. He himself accepted the doctrines first taught by Emanuel Swedenborg. No one of the organic members survives. Of the living Mrs. J. W. Maynard's membership is supposed to date furtherest back.

In sketching the church history of the place, I shall give a bald statement of the origin of each of those churches which existed previously to 1844, the year of my settlement here, and then, at the proper time shall recur to the subject, sketch the churches of later origin and attempt an appreciative view of the religious influences which have wrought in the successive stages of growth. I will add here simply a list of the names of those who served the Presbyterian Church either in the character of stated supply, or pastor, until October 1831. Reverend Messrs. William Page and Ira Settlebone served as supplies. At this time Rev. John Beach came on and in February following was installed as pastor of the church, in which office he remained until February 1838, from which date until 1843 the church was without a pastor and was supplied by Revs. Messrs. E. T. Richards, E. E. Gregory, J.P. Cleveland, D.D., and Ira M. Weed.

#### XIX. THE METHODIST CHURCH

John Wesley organized an aggressive religious movement in the church of England, intending that it should remain within that body. He and those banded with him in the University of Oxford in an attempt to rise to a higher religious life had been nicknamed Methodists, which name has descended to the great body now active in all lands as the expansion of the Oxford clique. In the year 1735, John Wesley and his brother Charles embarked with General Oglethorpe, founder of the Colony of Georgia, for the new world. Bishop Nitschman of the Moravian Church, for its numbers the greatest missionary body of Christendom, was Wesley's fellow-voyager, as were also many Moravian emigrants. The piety of these people, and

especially the conversation of the bishop, deeply impressed the mind of Wesley, and on his return to London he sought out the Moravian Church there and dates his real conversion from his meetings with that body. He afterwards visited the central home of these people in Herrnhut in the Kingdom of Saxony, and by some changes of his own upon this body as his model, he completed that form of organization now known as the Methodist Episcopal Church, which, while it adjusts itself to old communities and cities, has proved one of the most efficient of all organic movements in the great Christian body for operations in frontier settlements. The representatives of this organization reached America just in time to be among the efficient agencies of our religious development.

A regular system of itineracy is the feature of Methodism which made it most efficient in new settlements. Rev. John A. Baughman was the first Circuit Rider, as they were then called, of the Detroit district, who reached this, at that time, the extreme western settlement. In November, 1825, he visited the place, was entertained at Mr. Allen's, and preached each of the successive evenings of his stay. In 1827, Rev. Z. H. Coston, presiding Elder, of the Detroit district, directed Mr. Baughman, at that time on the Monroe Circuit, to visit Ann Arbor, and in case it should be found practicable, to organize a class there, which was accordingly effected in July of that year. The original body consisted of Eber White, Harvey Kinney, Hannah B. Brown, Rebecca G. Brown and Calvin Smith. Accessions continued to be made to this nucleus, among the most prominent of which were the

family of Ezra Maynard, patriarch of the large family of that name. Mr. Maynard, who still lived three miles distant, joined this body the next year after its organization.

Ann Arbor had remained in the Monroe circuit scarcely a year, when a new circuit, known as the Huron, was formed taking in this place.

In 1829, Rev. L. B. Gurly was signed to this circuit and his work for the year prospered. The next year two men, or boys, as they called themselves, were placed upon the field; for one, Rev. Henry Colclazer, was but twenty-one years of age, the other, Rev. Elijah H. Pilcher, was about two years younger. Their ministry resulted in considerable accessions to the church. Ann Arbor remained, until 1835, a part of the Detroit district; in this year it was made the centre of a new district, Mr. Colclazer in charge. The most extensive accessions occurred during the year, 1838, having begun in December of 1837.

Up to this date the meetings were held wherever a place offered; preparation was now begun for the building of a church. The structure known as the Unity block, on the southwest corner of Ann and Fifth streets, still has in it the original Methodist Church. An anecdote connected with its dedication will exemplify a violent controversy, which once raged from Main to Georgia, and afterward spread itself out with the progress of settlement westward. Mr. Colclazer, the presiding Elder, on his way to the services of dedication, attended by Bishop Soule, informed the latter that the choir had been at the pains to make considerable preparation, and among other things had two musical instruments ready for the occasion. The Bishop turned on his

heel, saying:- "Go on brethern and dedicate your church; I will have nothing to do with it." Another man, Rev. Jonathan A. Chaplin, preached the dedication sermon; but on Sunday following, the dedication now over, the Bishop preached a powerful discourse, whether with or without instrumental music is not reported. It was afterwards hinted as not quite consistent in the Bishop that he should so fully approve as he did the institution of slavery, and refuse his sanction to that which has formed a part of religious worship ever since the days of David, King of Israel. The incident is a reminder of the thousand and one jokes of the controversy on church music.

An occurrence of the time when Mr. Colclazer was presiding Elder will show a little of the life of the time. He was to hold his quarterly meeting at a place thirty miles north of Ann Arbor, which place he reached on Saturday evening & was to be lodged at the house of Mr. Boutwell. His host conducted him to his quarters, the two climbing a ladder in a corner of the one lower room. This upper part of the house, under the rafters, was divided into separate rooms by suspending sheets, & the host's daughter lodged in a room thus formed. Now the Elder, though a man of but about thirty, was bald & wore a wig, an article which had never been seen in these parts. This he doffed & hung on a post of the bed stead. In the morning the host, in order to call his daughter, ascended the ladder so far that he saw the wig & knew but one interpretation; the Indians had been there and scalped the Elder. He shouted "Indians!!" "Murder!!" & as the minister, waked by the shout rose to a sitting

posture, showing his hairless pate, his conviction was confirmed & his cries of alarm repeated; assured, however, of the real state of the case, he was quieted, but was so ashamed that he did not appear at the breakfast-table.##  
 Scenes, scarcely less ludicrous than this, might be reported in considerable numbers.

There is connected with this event a piece of archeological tradition which may be of interest to the reader. Mrs. Clark had in her possession as an heirloom a silver tankard without its cover, this latter having descended in some other branch of the family. This vessel was used in the early Eucharistic service of the church. Tradition traces it from One John Harpin, of the ancestral line, of whom it further says that he was placed as a boy on board a ship in France, with instructions to the effect that he was to receive his education on board, never land in France, and on the attainment of his majority be placed on shore in America at such point as he might choose to make his home. The story suggests a method sometimes resorted to for disposing of a n inconvenient heir. The event is most likely to belong to the reign of Louis XIV. Mr. Harpin became a physician in Connecticut, from which state this Clark family migrated westward. The tankard is now in the hands of Mrs. Chapin, widow of the late Charles Chapin and daughter of James Kingsley.

The name - St. Andrew's - taken by the church seems to have been suggested by the fact that one of its members Andrew

Cornish by name, stood well with the people and so the name of the Apostle Andrew was bestowed upon the church. Mr. Kingsley used to read sermons to the assembled body. A young candidate for orders named Huxford read the church service. Some - Miss Lucy Ann Clark, for instance, on her marriage to Mr. Kingsley - had the marriage service read by a layman in addition to the sanctions of a justice of peace; thus giving the event a more sacramental character in her mind.

The church edifice was not ready for occupation until November 18th 1838, at which date it was consecrated by Bishop McCoskry. Previously, private and school houses, and the court room had been used for the services. While the first building was in process of completion, its basement described by the Rector, Rev. Mr. Marks, as filled with shavings, boards and brick-bats, was the place of assembly. The rectors of the parish up to the time of my settlement in Ann Arbor were Rev. Messrs. Silas W. Freeman, John P. Bausman, Samuel Marks, Francis H. Cuming, D.D., and Charles C. Taylor, which last named settled in the place about the same time with myself.

## XXI. THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The records of the Baptist church in Ann Arbor for the first ten years are lost. The substantial facts, however, can be given. The so-called Covenant Meeting, at which this people are accustomed to make a statement of their religious condition, with an avowal of their purpose still to live on together in the bonds of Christian love, began to be held in the township of Ann Arbor as early as February 1827, and is supposed never to have been intermitted to this



day. The custom is to hold them once a month. The Reverend Moses Clark, Pastor of the church at Farmington some twenty miles distant, and said to have preached the first sermons in both Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, settled on land near what is now Geddes Station, on the Central Railroad, probably organized in his own house the meetings referred to, the same being deemed a branch or mission of the Farmington church. In June 1828, the members here banded together, having been dismissed from Farmington, were organized into a church, the council acting in the matter consisting of delegates from all the Baptist churches then existing in the territory - those of Pontiac, Stony Creek, Troy, Farmington and Detroit. The meetings at this time were held in Mr. Clark's barn. Little further is known of this pioneer pastor beyond the sad fact in his domestic history that on going to the woods where his eldest son was supposed to be at work, he found the body of the young man lying crushed under a log, life already extinct.

The church passed into a new stage in 1832, having been then transferred to Ann Arbor village. Its meetings were first held in a school house on the jail lot, which was bounded northward by Liberty street and lay between Fourth and Fifth. They removed thence to an upper room over Brown's block in the Lower Town. In 1832, Daniel B. Brown was baptized into the church and on the day of his baptism was elected a deacon, and now survives, this honorable title still adhering to him. His brother, Anson Brown, whose enterprise did most to make the Lower Town what it became, seemed in a fair way to transfer the chief business to the

north side of the river, but died of cholera in 1834. He already had the post-office. He had indicated the lot he would give for the church building and the amount of his own subscription, but died without having executed the conveyance of the lot, or made his subscription. His executors, who were his business partners, refused to convey the lot. But they had a large note about to mature at a bank in Detroit, Daniel B. Brown was the endorser and refused to renew his endorsement until the church had their title for the lot. So the ground was secured; but the money, which would have been half enough to put together such a box as the church entered about the year 1835, they did not obtain.

This was, on the whole, a creditable work, resting as it did chiefly, if not wholly, on Mr. D. B. Brown. Before this building was erected the worship had been driven from the loft of the brick-block and had taken refuge in a carpenter shop, used every day of the week except Sunday for its mechanical purpose, and in hours of worship not in a condition suggestive of religious thought & devotion. The little structure that grew out of this worthy effort may still be seen on Wall street in the fifth ward. It is now a Methodist mission. Its original size may be learned by conceiving all that extends on either side beyond the bends in the roof to be lopped off. These additions were made while it was still the property of the Baptist church.

Of the original members of 1832, Mr. and Mrs. D. B. Brown alone survive. The pastors of this little flock up to 1844 - I give them in the order of time - have been Rev. Messrs. Moses Clark, J.S. Twiss, W. L. Brown, Harvey Miller, A. A. Guernsey, O. C. Comstock, and Marvin Allen.

Mr. Clark is said to have been the second Baptist minister who settled in the territory. Mr. Twiss was probably drawn to the place by the settlement here of relatives. His wife was sister of Mrs. Fuller, the mother-in-law of Anson Brown, the founder of the Lower Village, and of Judge Lawrence. Mr. Miller was a man of talents, and after leaving here about 1838, spent the rest of his life as pastor in Meriden, Ct. where he died about ten years ago. Both he and Mr. Twiss were men of unbounded wit, and the latter made free use of this talent against the institution of slavery. A specimen of his style of illustration may be instructive. Being present once at a great meeting in Jackson, his name at intervals in the speaking was often called by the audience & the call finally became so vociferous that Twiss arose & said:- "Mr. President: I'll not make a speech, but I'll tell you a story. You know, sir, that the liberation of the slaves has been objected to on the ground that they would inundate the country. Now in the time of the late war with England, the people on our northern frontier felt themselves in great danger & had no means of intelligence except by returning soldiers. A pious old lady, once seeing one of these passing, ran out to learn of him the news. His answer to her question was," 'very bad news, Granny; the British & injuns hev got a great pry under the edge o' Lake Champlain & are goin' to tip it over & drownd us all out.'" the old lady hurried back into the house, put on her bonnet & shawl & set out for the minister's with the information. This once stated, the pastor replied," 'now, mother, I can prove to you from the Bible that there's no danger, for you know the Lord promised

Noah that he would never again destroy the earth with the waters of a flood.' "The old lady's decisive reply was," 'I know all about that, but you know 'taint the Lord; it's them are 'tarnal British & injuns that's goin' to do it.'" The speaker sat down amid deafning applause, leaving his hearers to make the application.

Mr. Comstock was by profession a physician, but left this calling for service, first in politics and then in the pulpit. He served in Congress two terms in the administration of Madison. While a member of the house of representatives he began to preach<sup>in Washington</sup> and most of his labor thereafter was in the ministry. He was also Superintendant of Public Instruction in this state. He was the father of one of our most esteemed missionaries in India. Mr. Allen was for a time a highly valued and useful member of the Board of Regents of the University.

## XXII. BETHLEHEM (LUTHERAN) CHURCH

In a previous chapter was sketched the settlement in Ann Arbor of the family of J. Heinrich Mann, father of the late Emanuel Mann and his still surviving sister, Mr. Hutzel, from both whom I have received valuable information in regard to the German people. The elder Mann early wrote to the Basle Evangelical Missionary Society for a missionary: Frederic Schmid was commissioned in the spring of 1833 for this service, and arrived on the ground in August following. He held his first public worship on August 26th in a school house four miles west of the initial village. As early as November 3d next following Pastor Schmid's arrival, measures were taken for building a house of worship. At a meeting held on that day, fifteen members were present, as follows:

J.H. Mann, Geo. Stattnann, Jacob Maerkle, Geo. Mayle, Chr. Brusche, Abr. Cromann, Joh. Beck, Jacob Steffle, John M. Schneider, Jacob Stollsteimer, Johan Cromann, Jesaja Cromann, Joseph Cromann, D. F. Allmendinger and Frederic Schmid, the new pastor. Of these, Messrs. Mann and Allmendinger were chosen as trustees and the work of building was at once determined upon, for which a lot two miles west of the site of the Ann Arbor court house was given by Mr. Allmendinger.

There is often the deepest interest felt in first religious services. These people, if any of them knew the English language for business or social purposes, could not as yet have had the least enjoyment of it as a medium of religious teaching, and would have felt no unction in listening to its empty words. Nay, these would have but mocked the deep hunger of their souls for that which they had left in the Fatherland. We can conceive then how the little company must have felt when the young pastor discoursed to them for the first time in the schoolhouse from the words: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Of the hymn from Hiller's collection, sung in harmony with the import of the discourse, I translate a stanza, imitating the measure and rhymes of the original, as follows:

"The ground on which I firm will stand,  
Is Jesus Christ, God's only Son;  
Rise heights, sink depths on either hand,  
I cannot from this faith be won;  
Called weak, in worldly wisdom's boast,  
I'm taught thus by the Holy Ghost."

This was the first German church organized in the Territory of Michigan. The house of worship was completed

in less than two months, having been dedicated at the end of December, 1833, the whole cost being \$265.32. This amount was given partly by friends in Stuttgart and others in Pennsylvania.

Congregations founded near the same time in Detroit and Monroe, were ministered to in addition to his charge here, by Pastor Schmid, who performed his earliest journeys thither from Ann Arbor on foot, each place being about forty miles from his home. It is worth a remark that this first little house of worship was kept as a kind of historic memento until 1891, when a photograph of it was taken, that its form and style might not perish from memory, and the building itself was destroyed. The cemetery is, however, kept in good condition and it is well worth a walk in pleasant weather out two miles on the territorial road to see it.

Members of the congregation in the village itself so increased in numbers that as early as 1840 arrangements were made for holding a part of the services here, and at first the use of the Presbyterian church was obtained for this purpose the service being at hours when the church was not occupied by its own people, and in 1844, beyond which time I shall not here carry this sketch, measures were entered upon for building in the village.

Pastor Schmid, whose term of service was extended to nearly double the time of any other pastorate in the place, (38 years) deserves a personal notice. He came hither as a young man, married here the daughter of Mr. Mann, whose correspondence with the fatherland had brought him to Michigan, and raised here a family. His eldest son, Emanuel Schmid, graduated from the University here in 1855, spent

about two years in Germany and has since been and is now professor of history in the Capitol University in Columbus, Ohio. A son and a daughter's husband are now among the most prominent men in Ann Arbor's business.

I must close this chapter by acknowledging my indebtedness to Pastor Neumann of the Bethlehem church for the use of his Jubilee Address of 1893.

#### XXIII. ST. THOMAS (ROMAN CATHOLIC) CHURCH

The great stretch of territory which is now embraced within the State of Michigan was first occupied by French Catholics. The Jesuit Fathers began their work among the Indians of the Upper Peninsula as early as 1641. It might be laid down as a general truth, the exceptions to which would be few, that since the founding of Christianity Christian missionaries have been the first to transcend the lines which have separated civilized from savage humanity. About the stations which they established traders were soon settled and thus civilization has followed the lead of missions. So it was in Michigan. Sault St. Marie, Mackinaw and Detroit may be taken as the earliest of these stations to develop into villages, or towns. The class of men known as "courriers des bois" formed the medium of commercial intercourse between the towns, or settlements. These trading-posts were scattered along the water-ways and it is worthy of notice that one of them anticipated by fourteen years the beginning of the agricultural occupation of Washtenaw county. I refer to the so-called trading-house of Gabriel Godfroy where Ypsilanti now stands. Godfroy had two partners, Francis Pepin and Louis Shambre, all doubtless Catholics, but having their church home at Monroe, as probably also the homes of the families

with the exception of the one in charge of the post. This house was established in 1809.

The settlement of Irish Catholics in the county began soon after the founding of Ann Arbor and had its beginning in the neighboring townships of Northfield and Superior. Their first organization for worship was in Northfield. It can be traced from 1830, when a few scattered families were visited by Rev. Father Kelly, whose ministrations among them extended to the year 1835. For five years after this latter date Father Morrissy ministered to the religious wants of their scattered people, including Ann Arbor, both of these priests residing in Northfield, which still remained their centre.

In 1840 Father Cullen succeeded to the pastoral care of the scattered flock and labored with more special reference to a church in Ann Arbor. Previous to the completion of the church edifice in 1843, services were held wherever places could be found, often in private houses. For a considerable time an old building on Washington, between Fourth and Fifth streets, was occupied by them. But Father Cullen's range of labor was a large one; for his care was extended over the Catholic people from Ypsilanti to Kalamazoo, an extent of about one hundred & twenty miles.

It is worthy of remark that the maternal body in Northfield remained strong enough after the establishment of separate worship in Ann Arbor to continue its worship and greatly to enlarge its resources for the purpose. This is exceptional. The Baptist church was first formed at Geddes, but the worship was there abandoned when it was begun in Ann Arbor. The German Lutherans began in Scio,



but no longer keep up their worship in its old place. There is now no other church of any denomination so near the city as the Catholic church in Northfield, and there a substantial brick edifice has succeeded to the wooden one of earlier days. This suggests the duty of the various Christian bodies to establish religious worship and instruction in the farming districts around, which seem to be falling into increasing neglect of attendance on religious services.

Father Cullen's services in St. Thomas' Parish extended from his arrival on the ground in 1840 to his death in 1862. He was buried beneath the church which had been built under his direction; but the remains were in July, 1892, removed to St. Thomas' Cemetery west of the city, by Rev. E. D. Kelly, the present pastor.

Father Cullen built also a house which was his own property and descended to a nephew and niece. The small space in front of it was finely adorned with trees and shrubbery. This house stood and still stands on Division street. It is the first on the east side of that street northward of Kingsley; but in the recent widening of Division street, the front yard, with its adornments, was sacrificed, leaving scarcely room for steps between the side-walk and the front door of the house.

#### XXIV. WARS

The world's history is made up largely of accounts of wars, and the history of a city like this would seem to fall short of the true historic dignity, if no page of it were given to the chief subject of the historic muse. Nor have I in mind at all in this reference to the war which

attempted and almost effected the rending of our nation in twain. This I shall not touch. It is too well known. Ann Arbor's part in it has been written out. It forms a subject by itself. A chapter of the length of those I have written would<sup>not</sup> suffice to name our citizens who took part in it.

The Cholera War concerned chiefly Washtenaw County. Its origin was as follows: in 1832 the cholera raged in Detroit and the legislative council of the state passed an act permitting the inhabitants of each town or village to prohibit travelers from entering their precincts. They might call out the militia to enforce the prohibition. In this service a company under Captain Burton was called out and stationed at Bowen's Tavern, three miles east of Ypsilanti. The stage coming along with the mail and passengers was stopped there. The driver, not waiting for the issue of a parley, attempted to force his way forward and one of his horses was shot down. The horse, however, was gotten up and was found not to have been so hurt as to prevent the stage from proceeding on its way, which it did without further molestation, a wholesome fear having arisen in the minds of some from their having thus stopped the United States mail. The matter was referred to the proper department at Washington, the name of Lorenzo Davis, known for most of his life as a citizen of Ann Arbor, being reported as that of the chief criminal. The department dismissed the case without action. Such is in substance the published history. There is a traditional supplement to it to the effect that the sheriff of the county was at fault in the matter, which derives support from the fact that soon after this he was removed and Daniel B. Brown

of this place was appointed in his stead.

The Black Hawk War never reached Michigan, and yet no war rumor ever produced here so great a sensation as this. It was in May, 1832. The report was that the noted chief with 80,000 men was already at White Pigeon Prairie on his way towards Detroit, murdering men, women and children as he moved onward. Regiments were raised, formal military orders were issued by General John R. Williams, of Detroit, migrating parties, at the time rushing into the territory, were stopped and some turned back by the excitement and the alarm was felt in the streets of Ann Arbor quite as sensibly as anywhere. A few days brought intelligence of the chief's capture in Wisconsin and the sensation died as suddenly as it had arisen. One Abraham Lincoln was a captain in this service, and became better known afterwards.

The Toledo War grew out of a dispute between Michigan and Ohio, regarding the right to a strip of land about seven miles wide at its eastern extremity, extending westward to the line of Indiana, and including the city of Toledo. Michigan had possession, but in 1835 Governor Lucas of Ohio, laid claim to it and entered upon vigorous measures to obtain possession, even arranging for holding a court under Ohio's jurisdiction in Toledo. Mr. Mason, the plucky acting governor of Michigan, scarcely yet twenty-five years of age, called out the military forces of the territory to defend its claim. I need not trace the history, but shall mention chiefly Ann Arbor's part in the campaign. Morell Goodrich of this place went out as captain of a company raised here and in the vicinity. His sketch given in the history of Washtenaw county tells of no armed conflicts except with

domestic animals. The stories, of which I have heard many from actual participants, are chiefly of raids on gardens, herds and flocks. Besides Captain Goodrich of the Michigan side, lived long and died in Ann Arbor. Mr. J. Austin Scott, who held a captain's commission on the Ohio side and could tell the story admirably. As to the casualties of the war, the only one which became historic was that of a horse belonging to one Lewis E. Bailey, who continued every year to apply to legislature for the value of the animal until 1846, when the sum of \$50, with interest thereon, was paid him. Besides Captains Goodrich and Scott of our citizens here, Governor Felch was in this war, on the staff of Major General Brown, who commanded in chief & sometimes amuses his guests with accounts of this his sole warlike adventure.

Congress gave the land to Ohio, influenced doubtless by fear in an approaching presidential election. The strip belonged to Michigan by the original act which fixed as the line a due east and west one from the extreme southerly point of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie. Ohio's claim made a jog in this on the line between Ohio and Indiana. The Attorney General of the United States gave his opinion in favor of Michigan's claim, and congress gave to Michigan in remuneration for its loss that large area now known as the Upper Peninsula.

The so-called Patriot War of 1837, is the only remaining one of this type to be noticed; nor would this deserve notice but that an honored citizen who lived and died here, General Edward Clark, was wheedled into taking some steps

towards connecting himself with it. Its purpose was to take possession of Canada. One so-called General Sutherland, a Canadian, came to Ann Arbor, as he went to other places, collected a crowd at the court house, addressed them in regard to the seizure of Canada and put papers into General Clark's hands by which he was to receive a commission for the service. General Clark showed these to Governor Mason and received a reply which his piety would not allow him to repeat. But some went to Canada. Diplomacy between the two governments finally interposed and the matter was settled. Several Michigan men were, however, executed in Canada for their part in the movement and two, named respectively Thellier and Dodge broke from the prison in Quebec, crossed the St. Lawrence into Maine and thus escaped the halter.

#### XXV. PIONEER MANNERS

It can scarcely be conceived that a rush of people into the wilderness could proceed without carrying with it a certain degeneracy of manners. This has, however, in popular story been exaggerated, of which we have had in the neighborhood of Ann Arbor one of the most noted instances found in American literature. It was about the time of Michigan's admission into the Union of States that one William Kirkland removed his family into the new settlement of Pinckney about eighteen miles from Ann Arbor, which was then the nearest considerable village and the family and their neighbors were well known here. Mr. Kirkland's purpose, so far as I know, was to build a mill and connect with it a general mercantile enterprise. Two or three years

of trail were enough, and the family returned to the east. But Mrs. Kirkland, writing under the pseudonym of Mary Clavers, relieved herself of the contents of a volume entitled:- "A New Home - Who'll follow?" Its aim was to set forth the life and manners of her neighbors. The reader, if at all acquainted with the pioneer life of these parts, would know quite well that its pictures were not true; but he might have been in doubt as to whether the book was a revengeful Parthian arrow discharged at the community in the author's retreat, or whether it was only a playful sketching. She learned that her book had given offense and in the preface of another work about to be issued under the title of "Forest Life," she apologizes in these words:- "I am sincerely sorry that any one has been persuaded to regard as unkind what was announced as merely a playful sketch." I think, too that in the second edition of the New Home, now before me, some features of the first issue have been omitted, or greatly softened.

In her descriptions of forest life Mrs. Kirkland, by a double exaggeration, puts us in a way of a wholesome truth. She pictures a wealthy, purse-proud New Yorker, whom she calls Margold, as traveling with his wife and daughter and taking refuge in a log hut in a shower, and bound to spend the night there. She makes the man and his daughter arrogant and rude beyond ought that any reader could have imagined, while the generous dwellers in the hut were doing all they could to meet the demands of the lordly refugees. The reader is led to regard the poor cottagers as genteel compared with those who had forced themselves upon their

hospitality.

The truth is well set forth by a kind of balance between such exaggerations. True gentility is a matter of the inner regards and not of mere forms, and its real violations are as frequent in high as in low life. At the very time when Mrs. Kirkland was living her backwoods life at Montacute, I was spending a college vacation among the log houses of Michigan and, in entering about a hundred of these in the course of six weeks, never encountered an instance of the kind of rudeness which she delights to picture. At the table, if dishes are near, the guest is bidden help himself, if distant, they are passed. She, on the contrary, represents a woman in her house service as refusing to be helped and bluntly crying out, "I don't want none of your waitin' on." A young school-mistress is pictured as smoking a pipe and as practicing and defending the rudest kind of manners. I have seen many an old woman who smoked her pipe, never a school-mistress who could have been the original of Mrs. Kirkland's picture. So of all her sketches. They are not to be taken as true representations of the social life in which she lived, and what makes them worse is that they point out, though under fictitious names, the persons for whom they were drawn.

It must, however, be admitted that frontier settlers do from the necessity of the case decline both in the exterior of social manners and in intelligence. The people who settled hereabouts were from distances of four hundred to a thousand miles. Some came these great distances in wagons. They often slept in these. They had in many

instances sold their furniture and brought little with them. They got used to eating without tables and sleeping with poor apologies for beds. The want of conveniences after their arrival on the ground kept up these loose habits. It naturally enough took some years to get back to the standard of social life they had left. But during all this time those feelings of the heart which are the fountains of manners may have remained unharmed. Much upon this subject was introduced as incidental matter in my earlier chapters.

Most of the foregoing paragraphs have been occupied with references to Mrs. Kirkland's books. I venture to add further here that she was a voluminous writer, having published nine or ten volumes, the last "Personal Memoirs of George Washington." It will enlighten the reader as to the difficulty of getting exact information in this class of matters, if I let him know that Appleton's Cyclopedia represents the Kirklands as having lived but two and a half years in Michigan and as having left the state in 1843. The same article says that "A New Home, Who'll Follow," was published in 1839, which according to the other statement, would have been more than two years before the removal of the family into the state. So evident an error should not have passed through any village newspaper. I have made my account at least consistent. The arrival must have been in 1837 or 1838, the departure in 1839 or '40. Moreover, Farmer's History of Detroit makes this Kirkland family to have lived in that city several years before their removal to Pinckney, Mr. K. being principal of the Female Seminary in Detroit & then returning thither & residing there where he and his wife remained as teachers from 1840 to 1843.



It will indicate the character of Mrs. Kirkland's sketches to add that a lady from Pinckney was once at a dinner party in a well-known family in Ann Arbor, at which was also present a prominent gentleman from Detroit. The lady expressed a desire to see Mrs. K's book that she might know the character of its references to her. The Detroit gentleman promised to look up his copy and send it to her; but on finding the book, he prudently concluded to violate his promise and spare her feelings. It may interest the reader to know that the host of this dinner party was Governor Felch & the guest Judge Campbell.

#### XXVI. WILD MEN AND WILD BEASTS

In an earlier chapter an account was given of an Indian social scene, the characteristic feature of which was that it was conducted on a prearranged plan. The arms of the party were hid away, as also the papooses, so that none were left near who might be hurt, nor any arms with which the participants could seriously wound each other. Thus prepared they drank their two tin-pails of whiskey, fell naturally and systematically into a deep sleep and as systematically recovered, and when the normal condition was fully restored, all were placed again in possession of their arms and papooses and resumed their journey westward. I have now to add that this scene is not to be accepted as a normal one of Indian behavior in Ann Arbor and its neighborhood and to give another side of Indian character.

These native people in their journies eastward to receive their annuities often encamped in great numbers at

this place. It was about the year 1833 that some thousands had their camps for a night near the town, one body on the north-west, on, or near the Hiscock farm, another to the south, about where the brick-yard used to be and a third to the east. Indeed, the place might have been deemed to be invested after the manner of an ancient siege and I might have included an account of the event in my sketch of our wars, but chose to place it by itself. The people in the encampments were quiet and civil. They were moving eastward and had nothing as yet with which to purchase the fire-water, which might have made them noisy. But some young men and boys deemed it a fine opportunity to amuse themselves by frightening the people. Nor were they the worst of boys, for they seem to have informed their mammas, so that these might not be terror-stricken, and the mammas too, who gave their assent and enjoyed the sport, must have had about the same amount of mischief in them as their sons. But these youths, masked as Indians and mounted on horses, came riding with the simulated war-whoop into the village. How well they enacted the savage we may not know; the alarm was great among the uninformed. Several who were engaged in this sport, now no longer boys, are living to tell the story; but they are not ambitious to have their names and deeds recorded together in this recital.

It may have been on the return of the same parties with their annuities paid and whiskey on hand that Daniel Hiscock and another boy, concealed in the bushes, watched the progress of an Indian social scene for which no plan of security had been prearranged and the dance, with drunkenness and its usual attendants prevailed far into the night.

The early merchants here had a thriving Indian trade. Daniel B. Brown was the first who brought on a considerable stock of goods, which, in his dealings with the natives he exchanged for furs, cranberries and wild honey, shipping to the east those articles of the traffic which could command an eastern market. The trade continued for many years after other stores of goods had been opened.

In the title of this paper wild beasts have been associated with wild men. Wolves, deer and bears abounded; but the settlers were here for the prosecution of the industries, professions and trade, and I have never known a man in this vicinity who might have been deemed a professional hunter. Cooper's Novel, entitled the Oak-Openings, or Bee-Hunter, had its scene laid in Michigan for the year 1812, which was before the migration into the interior began. The hunting and trapping have been of the amateur class, and pursued only occasionally as leisure invited. This kind of hunting has supplied many a tidbit and many a timely relief to the pioneer in the form of deer, partridge, or grouse. The wolves were among the torments of our early settlers. The howls of some hundreds of them by night were far from pleasantly sonorous to lonely women and children in the log huts. The wolf made the keeping of sheep difficult. Then, when a crust was formed over a deep snow, wolves slaughtered the poor deer by scores; for the deer broke through at every jump, or step, the wolves ran on the surface. They seem to have had a system of strategy by which they could surround and capture this prey. They did more than the hunters to exterminate the deer. This done they themselves migrated.

There live in Ann Arbor those who knew the days of these wild beasts and can tell stories of adventures with them. I note a specimen instance. Dr. Samuel Denton was an early resident physician here. A bear was seen to pass near moving to the southeastward. In a light summer suit and without a hat he mounted a horse and set out in pursuit. About three miles from this place on the south Ypsilanti road he found John W. Maynard and another boy engaged in farm work and inquired of them if they had seen the bear; on being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, with greatest earnestness: "Why didn't you stop him?" The idea of trying to stop a bear seemed to the boys quite ridiculous and the doctor abandoned the chase and rode back in his dishabille. The adventure is said to have been described in Harpers' Magazine; but I have not seen it.

#### XXVII. THE PRESS

My sketches could not be deemed complete without some notice of the founding in Ann Arbor of the art which has revolutionized the society of Christendom. But the notice must treat chiefly of origins, not of each separate enterprise in the printer's art. This is, indeed, a distinction which has been kept in view throughout this series. The purpose has been to show how things started and got under way; not to trace their endless details onward towards the present time. The first newspaper was issued here November 18th, 1829. It was called "The Western Emigrant" and was published and edited at first by Thomas Simpson, but passed after five weeks of existence into the hands of Judge Dexter who associated with himself Mr. George Coraelius in the

editorial work. Mr. Corselius had been employed on the Advertiser in Detroit and had the education of the time in journalistic work.

Since newspapers came into existence a number of an issue floated down from a past age has offered the best means of obtaining a stereoscopic view of the condition of the place of publication for the time of the issue, editorials, communications, selections and advertisements all being noted for the purpose.

To state the political complexion of the Emigrant would bring an unknown world before the vast majority of our people. Few of the present day who have not made a close study of our political history know that from 1827 to about 1840 there was a political party known as Anti-Masons. It grew out of the abduction in 1826 from Canandaigua, New York, confinement in the Niagara county jail and later murder of one William Morgan for revealing in a book which he had in manuscript ready for publication, the secrets of the Masonic fraternity. The Anti-Masonic party grew so strong as to carry generally the elections of some states; Pennsylvania elected its nominee for governor at least once, and in 1832 Vermont gave its electoral vote to William Wirt, of Maryland, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for president and vice-president of the United States. The Emigrant, the first, and during its existence under that name, the only newspaper of Ann Arbor, with Honorable Samuel W. Dexter as its responsible editor, held up the claims of this party.

It will perhaps not be out of place here to inform

the reader that Ann Arbor had among its early citizens a man whom a distinct oral tradition has connected somewhat intimately with the affair of Morgan. I will tell the story by a little diversion into the field of anecdote. It may illustrate the position of the party of the Emigrant.

The late Henry W. Rogers used to beckon me as I passed to a seat on his veranda (corner of Huron and Division streets) for a talk. At one time it turned upon the late William L. Marcy, Secretary of State under President Pearce. We had both known Mr. Marcy, and I made some reference to the classic joke about his making the state pay for mending his pantaloons, upon which Mr. Rogers proceeded to tell me of its origin, as follows:

"The excitement was so great that a western judge could not be trusted to preside at the trial of the men implicated in the affair of Morgan, and Marcy was sent on from Albany. He boarded during the trial at a hotel in Lockport, and at one time directed the landlord to send a pair of pantaloons to a tailor for repairs, the expense of which was charged as an item in his hotel-bill, the whole passed the auditor's office and was paid, the item for repairing the garment not having been noticed. When Marcy was up a few years later for governor, some whig had fished up this item for canvassing purposes and in the little village of Bath, Steuben county, where I then lived, the whigs had suspended by a cord drawn over the street a large pair of pantaloons, with a great patch on the part which, with a man on the bench, would be likely to wear through first. I stayed around while the polls were closed

for dinner and observed a man from the country who was looking around as though he wished to learn something. He finally came to me to know "who the man was that wore the patched trowsers." "I said to him that's Judge Marcy, William L. Marcy." "Well," said he, "I think I'll vote for a man who wears patched trowsers." "I suppose" continued Mr. R. "he thought that one who wore patched garments would make an economic governor. So you see that the whigs procured one vote and I think they did a great many for Mr. Marcy by using the story of the patched pantaloons in the canvass."

I then said to Mr. R. "You can perhaps see from here the north side of that old-fashioned red brick house at the corner of Huron and Fifth streets; 'Yes," "he replied," 'what of it?' "That house," I replied "was built and occupied by William R. Thompson, who was sheriff of Niagara County, N.Y., at the time of Morgan's abduction and was implicated so far as this that he allowed the abductors the use of the jail to imprison their victim, which he had no right to do without judicial action. Although he was safe from any further proceedings against him, such was the excitement in western New York, that his desire for personal comfort brought him to this place."

Mr. Rogers told me at the same time that he himself was a mason and deemed the institution a good one, but had no doubt that masons abducted and murdered Morgan, though not by the action of any lodge.

We had here, then, from 1829 to 1836 one newspaper only and that in the interests of the Anti-Masonic party, and one man who was implicated in the Morgan tragedy.

## XXVIII. THE PRESS, CONTINUED

The preceding chapter was occupied with noting the origin of journalism in Ann Arbor in the Western Emigrant reflecting the views of the Anti-Masonic party. What remains to be observed in regard to this sheet relates to the manner in which a number of any one of its issues now picked up reflects the features of the time and place. I cite only a few illustrative examples.

It is well known to men of meteorological science and to many not in the ranks of any science, that on the night of November 12th to 13th, 1833, occurred the greatest meteoric shower on record. Of course some are still living who witnessed this grand display of heaven's pyrotechnics. The reader may by questioning a considerable number of those who lived at the time, gather up illustrations of the effects produced on the minds of those who saw it. Many looked upon it as the opening scene of the earth's final conflagration. Inquiry will elicit many a ludicrous incident connected with this phenomenon. An issue of the Emigrant for December following the occurrence contains an extended editorial on the subject, touching not only upon the display itself, but quoting from Humboldt and Bonpland, who, in their scientific travels, witnessed a similar, though less brilliant display. These two men were the most noted for their general science of any in the latter half of the 18th century. Their book was not in Ann Arbor until ten years after the date of the Emigrant's article and then only in the French language. The writer, either Judge Dexter, or Mr. Corselius, must have carefully waited to



gather the information from some eastern journal before preparing this article. It shows an exemplary care in regard to the matter to be given to the public. Indeed, the history of development in this place before it was thought of as the seat of a university, will show a remarkable intelligence.

Mr. John P. Davis, author of a recent work on the Union Pacific Railway (S.C. Griggs & Company Chicago, 1894), opens his book as follows:- "Though the idea of uniting the Atlantic & Pacific by a railway, or system of railways, or connecting railways & waterways, may have occurred to several minds in different places at about the same time, & though it was the natural result of industrial & political conditions, it was probably first given public expression in the Emigrant, a weekly newspaper published in Ann Arbor, Michigan (Territory) from November 18, 1829, to December 1, 1834. The writer of the article found in the editorial columns of number XII. of Volume III., issued February 6, 1832, is unknown, though it should probably be accredited to Judge S. W. Dexter, the publisher & one of the editors of the paper. Under the title of "'Something New,' "the unknown writer elaborates his proposed scheme in the following paragraphs:" 'The distance between New York & Oregon is three thousand miles - from New York we could pursue the most convenient route to the vicinity of Lake Erie, thence along the south shore of this lake & of Lake Michigan, cross the Mississippi between forty-one and forty-two of north latitude, cross the Missouri about the mouth of the Platte & thence on the most convenient route to the Rocky Mountains, near the source of the last named river, thence

to the Oregon, by the valley of the south branch of that stream, called the southern branch of the Lewis river.... We hope the United States will not object to conducting the national project.... But if the United States would not do this.... Congress would not, we presume, object to the organization of a company & a grant of three millions of acres for this purpose.'"

Mr. Davis sets forth the suggestion of the Emigrant as the very first one looking towards this great project, & remarks how nearly the execution has followed the route indicated in the editorial referred to.

So it seems that an Ann Arbor paper is to have the honor of having first set forth clearly the plan of this great thoroughfare, and I am assured by a letter recently received from Miss Corselius, now in Santa Rosa, California, that her father, George Corselius, wrote the articles.

The reader who desires to obtain a stereoscopic view of Ann Arbor's activities from 1829 to 1834 can do so by going to the Pioneer-room in the courthouse and inspecting some numbers of the Emigrant. I name a single subject from the advertising department. That such men as Daniel B. Brown and Edward Clark should advertise whiskey for sale for cash, or in exchange for produce, and Judge Dexter, himself a Methodist local preacher, should insert their advertisements in his paper, will show that the temperance reformation had made no great progress here at that time.

The Emigrant, having passed through several changes of names, was really continued in the State Journal. Under this name it was a Whig paper and was ably edited for a

length of time by Franklin Sawyer, who became the second Superintendent of Public Instruction of the state. When it ceased to be published and what it passed into, would not be easy in few words to tell. The Argus, the oldest Democratic paper, was started in 1840. Its career is easily followed; for, throughout its many changes of publishers and editors, it has retained its name and political complexion during all the years of its existence. A paper known as the Local News and Advertiser was started in 1857. It was obliged to suspend in the time of the war, and never resumed.

The Courier was started in 1861, as a Republican journal. There would be no reason in view of the limited purpose of these sketches for noticing particularly this paper and the Register beyond naming them and indicating their general character, but that the greatest contest in the courts and in the newspaper columns that ever took place in Ann Arbor, as also the greatest publishing enterprise ever started here, had their origin in connection with these periodicals. The Courier, having fallen into the hands of the late Dr. A. W. Chase, aided him in getting under way his Receipt book, now known as far as the English language is spoken. He is said to have sold in a few years about half a million copies, his whole business making him perhaps the wealthiest man of the time in Ann Arbor. Becoming, however, somewhat embarrassed in his finances, he sold out to Mr. R. A. Beal, on a contract not to resume the same business in Michigan while Mr. Beal should remain in it. He became discontented; got up a second book; not being allowed to publish here, it was

transferred to Toledo, a company having been formed for the purpose. In this the Register has its origin; but at one time had to suspend publication for more than two years under an injunction. Among the incidents of this contest, was this, that many letters strictly Chase's, went to Beal. Chase sent a written order to the post-master to deliver to him all letters addressed to his name and the post-office department affirmed the order, which, however, placed in Chase's possession many letters which of right belonged to Beal. To shorten the story Chase got up a third book, himself not to be connected with the publishing company. This book went into the hands of F. B. Dickerson, of Detroit, who, in order to have a clear field, bought the right to the second, and now has the world for his field and sends his books by car-loads, an entire car-load having been shipped not long since for the English residents in Egypt alone. In the contests mentioned above, originated the Register Publishing Company, which has been and is now doing reputable work in book-printing.

On having the full story of the tilting, which is simply indicated above, one almost feels himself listening to a tale of <sup>the</sup> ages of Chivalry. Besides Dr. Chase and Mr. Beal, Professor Watson, Colonel Dean, B.J. Conrad and A. W. Hamilton were the heroes of the contest, and I must refer those who desire to go more fully into the matter to those of these men now living for an hour's entertainment, which I can promise them will be a rare one.

The Ann Arbor Democrat was started in 1878 by Colonel J. L. Burleigh, came later into the possession of Mr.

Henry E. H. Bower and since his death has passed into the hands of his sister and been creditably kept up. It should be mentioned that early in the fourth decade of the century an anti-slavery paper was started in the lower town, now known as the 5th ward. It bore the name of the Signal of Liberty. Let it be added also that there are two weekly papers in the German language in existence in Ann Arbor, one a combination of the Washtenaw Post and the Hausfreund, the other, just now established under the name of the Neue Washtenaw Post. The experiment of a daily paper, to be shared between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, has been on trial for a few years past. The paper bears the name of the Washtenaw Daily Times, and continues to visit the families of the two cities accordingly to the promise involved in its name.

#### XXIX. THE FIRST SCHOOLS

It would almost seem, when one looks back at the first attempts to establish schools in Ann Arbor, and then considers the progress and final result, as if this had been the divinely predestined centre of a great scholastic system. I shall sketch in this paper its rude beginnings.

The corner of Main and Ann sts., the site of Duffy's store, was the place of the first school-house. It was a small hollow pile of logs, the sunlight let into its interior through windows of each a single pane of glass of eight by nine inches, perhaps an intimation that the young scholastic eyes would not yet bear a stronger light. It was fitted out with rude benches for the pupils and a chair for the teacher. We could not err in assuming that the

benches were of puncheons, or planks, split from the trunk of a native tree, smoothed a little with an axe, each supported by two pegs driven into each of its ends. In regard to the chair the fancy might range through greater latitude. A not improbable suggestion would be that it was a cheap frame of turned rods, with slats instead of rods for the back, and bottomed with splints of black-ash from the swamp, or coarse grasses from the marsh. If such be the chair which our fancy shall supply, we shall still have to bear in mind that it was not made here but brought on by some settler. And now with the house, the benches and the chair present in thought, we are ready to complete the conception, by seating Miss Monroe, for the family name is all we know about the first teacher here, in this chair and the urchins on the benches around her swinging back & forth their feet which did not reach the floor. A switch was at that time so universal an instrument in scholastic work that I think we should fall short of a complete picture if we did not place one in Miss Monroe's hand, or at her side.

Those who know ought of beginnings elsewhere can hardly err in conceiving how this school-house and school originated and how the school in its first stages was carried on. We have learned that nine log houses formed in 1825 what was to become the village of Ann Arbor. The men and boys of these nine houses, or if the school-house was one of the nine, then those of the eight houses, turned out and built the school-house and themselves manufactured all its furniture except the chair, and that either belonged to the school-mistress herself, or was a contribution

of one of the matrons of the place. Perhaps before the house was begun Miss Monroe was hired at not more than \$1.00 per week and her board to teach the school and became for the time the scholastic queen of the little community. Such was so nearly the uniform beginning of our school-work as to justify the assumption that it so began here, and the reader is quite safe in conceiving our whole vast system of public primary schools as having been developed from just this kind of germs; this was as yet, however, but a private school.

It is suggested above that the teacher might have been hired at \$1.00 per week; but as we are now considering the private schools which preceded the school-system, it may have been otherwise. I will state the systems of New York and Pennsylvania of the time, and the preponderance of New York people in the settlement would seem to render it probable that the practice of that state would form the model for beginnings here.

The New York law of 1820 provided for the payment from a certain state fund to each district in which a school should be kept up for a prescribed number of months of the year, an amount to be determined by the number of children between certain ages in the district. Nothing was paid to a district which had no school, so that they had to keep one up in order to obtain the public money. But this paid only a part of the teacher's wages. The master or mistress kept, therefore, an account of the daily attendance and the families paid according to the number of days, or half-days that their children were in school. At the end of the

term this account was handed over to the trustees for collection and they paid the teacher the stipulated monthly or weekly wages for the term's labor. In Pennsylvania there was no school law until perhaps a score of years later. Neighborhoods had usually a little school-house, but they had no provision for a school further than that anyone who sought to teach one might go around and see how many subscribers he could obtain for it at the rate per pupil he should choose to fix. The subscriber was obliged to pay the tuition of as many pupils as he had subscribed to send and also at the same rate for any he should send beyond the number subscribed. I have no doubt that the first schools here were a combination of the systems described above.

In 1826 Miss Harriet G. Parsons, afterwards the wife of Lorrin Mills, now known to the people of Ann Arbor as Deacon Mills, kept the school in the place already described until 1829, when it was removed to a framed school-house standing on the present site of Zion's Church (Lutheran) (March 1894). This was again the same year removed to a brick school-house on the jail lot, which brings us to the change of the primary school from a private to a public enterprise.

### XXX. SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

There is no way of ascertaining exactly how the first schools here were taught. The children in Ann Arbor from 1825 to 1830 were small. Indeed, I feel safe in saying that there were no large ones in the earliest schools and that the families here previous to 1830 embraced no children but small ones. The character of the common school-teaching



of the time will, therefore, be best indicated by an account of some experience in the states whence our settlers came. In the want of other I give my own.

The first winter school that I remember was taught by an old man who had held a captain's commission in the war of the Revolution. He drank daily several quarts of hard cider and drank something stronger when he could get it. He believed firmly in the teaching virtue of the rod and applied it freely, though he had some pets on whom he never employed it. The cases of two brothers, I shall call them John and Robert, for these were their names, will serve as illustrations. I seem yet to hear the master's call: "Come up, John, and say your letters." John starts, makes his bow before he gets quite to the teacher, for he is shy of going very near. He calls out "A" before he sees the letter. The master shouts, "Heh! You knowed the letter 'fore you see it, did you?" and fits a couple of snug cuts of the rod to the boy's back. John guesses at another letter with like results. The two boys did not know the alphabet at the end of the winter's school. John is long since dead; I saw Robert five years ago, an intelligent man, but he got none of his intelligence from the old master's birch. There was at that time in the vast majority of the common schools nothing taught but the alphabet, spelling, reading writing and arithmetic. Both geography and grammar were unusual. I went for a little time to a neighboring district and obtained such knowledge of English grammar that I was very facile in parsing. I deemed this a wonderful science; but I had one considerable philosophic

difficulty about it; I did not know who passed the laws that regulated the use of the language. I was fond of reading the reports of legislative proceedings in our village newspaper, but I saw no account of legislation enacting the laws of grammar. I made some inquiry of others about the matter, but they did not know, and I merely concluded that these laws had been made sometime before and had not been recently subjected to revision.

I developed an early ambition for distinction in the pedagogic calling and before I had attained to my majority, had taught two winter schools and might have taught a third with still six months to spare before I had attained to that goal, but instead thereof I went away to prepare for college.

My first school was in the lumbering district seven miles from home. The place had had a good school-house for three years and in the beginning of each winter school the big boys had whipped the master, turned him out and broken up the school. But I had the simplicity of a simpleton, and did not hesitate, boy as I was, to undertake the task. I never was much in favor of whipping or being whipped; but early in the winter I lightly whipped a small boy. It was on a Friday afternoon; towards evening the boy asked if he might go home, which was permitted and in about ten minutes he came back, his father with him. The father gave me an earnest lecture on school discipline and declared his intention to state his boy's case to the trustees. In a few minutes the school was out and I went home, expecting to meet a trustee on Monday morning with a decision of the matter referred to him for adjudication. He was at the

school-house before me and when I arrived announced his verdict in terms like these:- "We've considered the case of Linderman's boy and we all think, if he comes to school ag'in, you'd better whip him jest a leetle bit harder."

The next case was that of a young man a month or two older than myself. He violated the order of the school and I gave him his choice between leaving the school and being whipped. His prompt reply was:- "I shant do either." I deliberated just about a minute, took him by the coat-collar and brought him to the middle of the floor; but our strength was too nearly equal to make my victory easy; still I got him to the door and gave him a push into the open air. But he did not like to go home. He was disappointed. He had thought that the big boys would come to his assistance and that they would close the session as had been done before. He wandered irresolutely around, sat down in an old saw-mill and finally came bravely and with steady step back, walked up to me and said: "I've come back, sir, to take that whippin." He was thenceforth my best friend and the continuance of the school was secure.

The next case was that of a young man who had been during the winter in a store away from home, and returned home for the spring work on the farm. Being a little too early for farm work he came to school for a few days and soon made it evident that he intended to show the school that he had not lived a winter in the village without gaining some advance lessons in life. Some play was going on under cover of a long writing table, back of which was a window. I directed the boys to move out one way, the girls another, in doing which this young man, thinking to make

sport for the school, thrust his head through the sash where a pane of glass was wanting. It was a close fit. His stooping drew his clothes tight over his back. I plied vigorously my whip, he jerked his head, the window rattled, his ears were roughly scraped by the sash, his younger brother clapped his hands and shouted "good," the school had more fun than he really intended to make and his attempt to commend his attainments in village ways failed of the expected issue.

The next winter I taught in Pennsylvania, in one of the oldest and richest farming settlements in the state. The school-house was a small one of round logs. It stood under the shadow of a hewn log church, which was finished off with pews on the ground-floor and with a gallery. The pulpit was so high that it tired the neck to look up from the front pews at the minister. The precentor's desk was tacked on in front of the pulpit and not quite so high. The old pastor was serving the fiftieth year of his pastorate. The church and school-house stood in a beautiful oak grove. In connection with them was a cemetery enclosed by a firm and costly stone wall, the wall having over it a roof. In this slept the dead of 70 years then past. All was ante-revolutionary. The people were mostly of Scotch and German descent.

In this part of Pennsylvania and in this school had prevailed a practice called "barring out." The young men - and I had several older than myself in the school - reached the school-house on Christmas morning, if possible before the master and barricaded door and windows against his

entrance. If he resisted, they always beat him, even carrying him out if he got into the house. They finally presented him a written treaty of peace and friendship which he had to subscribe, its terms being in general that he should treat them with cider and apples, and give them the week between Christmas and New Year's. It never occurred to me until nearly twenty years later why it was that first with me the practice of breaking up the school in the one place and barring out the master in the other had failed. The pupils in the first school saw that I had perfect justice on my side and that I made no show of tyranny, and they declined to come to the aid of the one big boy who proposed to rule. I was one with them out of school, and their master only where duty required it. So in the second school; I ruled only for the pupils' good, never, like their old Scotch masters, merely to play the master. I whipped little in my first school, none in the second. The young men in the school said to each other, "Why should we keep up this foolish custom with a young man who is one of us and doing the best he can for us?" I am a convert to the theory of governing without corporal, or any humiliating punishment. As to the subjects taught, I had no call for teaching the grammar or geography I had learned; for nothing but reading, writing and arithmetic was expected. There were in the strict sense no school-books, except the spelling-book. For reading, the pupils brought the New Testament, Robinson Crusoe, or whatever they happened to have. So of arithmetics.

These sketches have been introduced because our people here came chiefly from New York, Pennsylvania and New

England. The people of the first district in which I taught were all from Vermont and they helped me to a true view of the sense in which New England is the "Land of Steady Habits." My teaching was all many years after the first settlement of Ann Arbor, and I am inclined to think that these examples will give us an idea of the point at which Michigan schools must have begun and will help to set forth in a clearer light what has since been achieved.

### XXXI. OPENING AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER SCHOOLS

The first school in Ann Arbor above the lowest grade already described was opened in the Goodrich block by Thomas W. and Moses Merrill, in 1829. It was soon removed to a brick building standing where Eberbach's drug store now stands. As to the amount of material for schools to work upon at that time the reader may judge from the fact that ten years later there were but 141 children in the village between the ages of five and fifteen years. It was not until 1833 that Ann Arbor obtained a village charter. In the school of the brothers Merrill were taught Latin and Greek, together with the higher branches of an English education. It continued but two years, the desired charter not having been obtained, and the Reverend T. W. Merrill removed to Kalamazoo, there to engage in similar work. He finally endowed a professorship in Kalamazoo college, his gift being \$10,000, then thought to be a sufficient endowment. The professorship bears his name.

When in 1832, the Merrill school was given up, and the place was not yet advanced to the dignity of a village, the Reverend O. C. Thompson, at the time traveling in the

territory as agent of the American Sunday School Union, at the request of citizens, opened an academy in the rude building already described as the Presbyterian church. This school was thought to have been the best of its time in the territory, from all parts of which it attracted students. In it were taught the ancient languages, the higher mathematics and the branches of an English education. The high school in Detroit, established in 1817, as the germ of a future University, was then in suspension and some of Mr. Thompson's best pupils were from that city, which still in 1831 contained only 3,000 people. It is worthy of note that among the pupils of the Ann Arbor Academy of 1832 were William Woodbridge, a son of William Woodbridge, afterwards United States Senator and Governor of the State, Samuel Woodworth and William Ten Eyck, these young men being of the most prominent families in Detroit. In its first winter this school numbered 100 pupils.

The academy kept in 1832 by Mr. Thompson soon developed, or receded, it is difficult to tell which, into the Manual Labor School, opened on the present site of Mr. Eberbach's residence, a mile or more from the court house on the south Ypsilanti road. It was provided in this school that the pupils might pay by their own labor a part or the whole of their expenses. Three and a half hours of labor daily, or two hours and fifty cents cash at the end of each week, paid a pupil's way. This form of school with its farm work continued three years. It was under the direction of the Reverend Samuel Hair.

For the foregoing account of Mr. Thompson's academy and its passing into the Manual Labor School, I have the

authority of Mr. Thompson's own admirable paper read before the old pioneer society in Detroit in January, 1873, and republished in the Detroit Free Press in May 1894. I am inclined to think, notwithstanding what Mr. Thompson says, that the school started in the old academy building erected in 1835 on the corner of Fourth avenue and William street, rather than the manual labor institution, was the real continuation of Mr. Thompson's academy. This wooden building stood there at least until some time in the fifth decade of the century.

The county history fixes the opening of the Manual Labor School in 1835, and the same authority makes Luke Parsons to have opened in 1835, a high school at the corner of Huron street and Fourth avenue, the site of Cook's Hotel. This says also that the Misses Page opened at about the same time a female seminary in the back part of the Leonard house on Huron street, which this authority says continued two or three years. I do not personally know at what date this school was opened; but I know very well that it was still in a somewhat flourishing condition in 1846-7, so that, if it began in 1835, it was continued for at least twelve years.

The school in the building now remembered as the Old Academy was first taught by Mr. and Mrs. Griffin, and was a fair continuation and perhaps an advance upon that of Mr. Thompson. In the Lower Town, schools began as in the Upper. As early as 1838 Thomas Holmes, now known as Rev. Dr. Holmes and living in Chelsea, taught a school in the Baptist church on Wall street. In the following year this became the



district school, was taught by the same and continued in the winter following<sup>in</sup> the new brick school house on Traver street. Later Mrs. Mudge, who afterwards became the wife of Professor C. K. Adams, now president of Wisconsin State university, taught the district school of the Lower Town.

The private school of longest continuance and best known was that of the Misses Clark. The prominent families of the time remembered it long because they contributed to the erection of the somewhat imposing edifice which now stands, a kind of cenotaph of those persistent women, on Division street, corner of Kingsley. Miss Mary is remembered by her visits to all the prominent households of her time in the place in the interests of her school. Scientifically she was an authority in botany, and those who remember her at all, conceive her as heading the procession of her girls, some of them from other parts, in botanical explorations. Miss Chloe was the home matron of the establishment. It died a natural death, the last in Ann Arbor of its type of schools. The building is now a tenement house.

#### XXXII. EARLIEST STEPS TOWARD THE UNIVERSITY .

It has already been made clear that Ann Arbor had a kind of predestination to schools of the higher grades. How it became the seat of the state university shall appear in its place. But we should first learn how it came to pass that we were to have a state university at all. I pointed to this in my second chapter. The justly celebrated ordinance of 1787, the real constitution of the northwest territory, giving to the new confederation of states the first domain it ever had to govern, contained the germ of

a school system, to embrace all grades of schools from the primary to the university, and to be extended by grants of land to all the territory which remained to be formed into states of the Union. The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich, Mass., was the chief force in getting up the bill for this ordinance and urging it through congress. Its spirit is condensed in the inscription over the rostrum in University Hall: - "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." In the ordinance abundant provision was promised in the form of land-grants for common schools and universities, and also for religion and in case of the Ohio colony on the Muskingum the sections for these purposes were designated; but the promise, so far as religion is concerned was not kept. Although the colony on the Muskingum had in it the best material that the country could supply - Washington testifies to this effect - its university was a failure. The year 1787 was too early. Middle-age ideas were not yet extinct. The plan was formed for its own time, and in the carrying out could not be made to fit the rapidly developing character and thrift of the population.

It is significant, however, that some picked men from the Ohio colony formed the nucleus around which a government was to be formed for the territory of Michigan. I have already in one of the earliest papers of this series mentioned the names and positions of some of these. I repeat several. Lewis Cass, William Woodbridge and the brothers Austin E. and Warner Wing, all came from the

Muskingum colony in Ohio. These men, with others who came to their aid, formed a force sufficient to do something towards repairing in Michigan the mistakes which caused the failure in Ohio.

The University of Michigan is now in Ann Arbor; it did not, however, originate here. The reader will doubtless be interested in going back to the scene and surroundings of its birth; if so, let him read the following original legislation:

"AN ACT to establish the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania.

"Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan, That there shall be in the said Territory a catholepistemiad or university, denominated the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania. The Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania, shall be composed of thirteen didaxum or professorships: First, a didaxia, or professorship of catholepistemia the didactor or professor of which shall be president of the institution; second, a didaxia, or a professorship of anthropoglossica, or literature, embracing all the epistemum or sciences relative to language; third, a didaxia, or professorship of mathematica or mathematics; fourth, a didaxia, or professorship of physiognostica or natural history; fifth, a didaxia, or professorship of physiosophica or natural philosophy; sixth, a didaxia, or professorship of astronomia or astronomy; seventh, a didaxia or a professorship of chymia or chemistry; eighth, a didaxia, or professorship of iatruca or medical sciences; ninth, a didaxia, or professorship of oeconomia or economical sciences; tenth, a didaxia, or a professorship

of ethica or ethical sciences; eleventh, a didaxia, or professorship of polemitactica or military sciences; twelfth, a didaxia, or professorship of degitica or historical sciences; and thirteen, a didaxia, or professorship of ennoeica or intellectual sciences, embracing all the epistemum or sciences relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind, to spiritual existence, to the Deity, and to religion, the didactor or professor of which shall be vice-president of the institution. The didactors or professors shall be appointed and commissioned by the governor. There shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, to the president of the institution and to each didactor or professor, an annual salary, to be from time to time ascertained by law. More than one didaxia or professorship may be conferred upon the same person. The president and didactors or professors, or a majority of them assembled, shall have power to regulate all the concerns of the institution; to enact laws for that purpose; to sue, to be sued; to acquire, to hold, to alienate property, real mixed, and personal; to make, to use, and to alter a seal; to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athenaeums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions consonant to the laws of the United States of America and of Michigan, and to appoint officers, instructors, and instructrixes in, among, and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, and other geographical divisions of Michigan. Their name and style as a corporation shall be "The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania."

To every subordinate instructor and instructrix appointed by the catholepistemiad or university, there shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan an annual salary, in quarterly payments, to be from time to time ascertained by law. The existing public taxes are hereby increased fifteen per cent.; and from the proceeds of the present and all future public taxes, fifteen per cent. are appropriated for the benefit of the catholepistemiad or university. The treasurer of Michigan shall keep a separate account of the university fund. The catholepistemiad or university may prepare and draw four successive lotteries, deducting from the prizes in the same fifteen per cent. for the benefit of the institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent, shall be applied, in the first instance, to the acquisition of suitable lands and building, and books, libraries and apparatus, and afterward to such purposes as shall be from time to time by law directed. The honorarium for a course of lectures shall not exceed fifteen dollars; for classical instruction, ten dollars a quarter. For ordinary instruction six dollars a quarter. If the judges of the court of any county, or a majority of them, shall certify that the parent or guardian of any person has not adequate means to defray the expense of suitable instruction, and that the same ought to be a public charge, the honorarium shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan. An annual report of the state, concerns and transactions of the institution shall be laid before the legislative power for the time being. This law, or any part of it, may be repealed by the legislative power for the time being. Made,

Made, adopted, and published from the laws of seven of the original states - to wit, the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia - as far as necessary, and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan, at Detroit, on Tuesday the 26th day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

"WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE,

"Secretary of Michigan, and at present acting Governor thereof.

"A. B. Woodward,

"Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan.

"JOHN GRIFFIN,

"One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan."

The question of a university had been before discussed. I have seen in a number of the Detroit Gazette for August 8th, 1817, a stirring editorial paragraph on the subject. It was in the French language, for at that time this sole newspaper of the place was printed in the two languages. In accordance with the legislation given above, the school was opened, Reverend John Monteith, pastor of the first Protestant Church of Detroit, held the presidency and seven of the didaxia, and received for his services \$87.50. Reverend Gabriel Richard, Roman Catholic prelate, held the other six didaxia and received \$75 a year for his labors. Thus began our university; for the supreme court has decided that the present university is but a continuation of this institution.

### XXXIII. THE ENDOWMENT GRANTS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

The endowment land-grants will in this paper be touched upon only in the briefest way that will make the subject

intelligible. Of the earliest forms of the grants, for they were several times modified, I shall say nothing. In making grants to the territory of Michigan, trustees had either to be appointed to administer them, or else the administration had to be confided to some existing body of men. The latter course was taken and the trust was committed to the trustees of the Catholepistemiad, or, as it was more usually called, the College of Detroit.

As early as 1823 those who had the administration of the reservations became satisfied that their trust was not in the most desirable form, applied to congress for new legislation and in 1826 a bill was passed giving the territory two entire townships for a seminary of learning, with permission to choose the land in detached sections. Austin E. Wing and Dr. Brown were commissioned to select these lands. At the mouth of Swan Creek, in what is now the city of Toledo, the committee selected river lots 1,2,7,8,9 and 10, amounting to 916 acres, and accepted the same for two sections, or 1280 acres. The selection was confirmed by the general land office at Washington and the lots, had they been held a reasonable time would have yielded a million of dollars to the University fund. But the property was too tempting a bait to a company of speculators in Toledo, and a Mr. Oliver, acting for the body, succeeded in persuading the board of trustees to enter upon a series of exchanges by which they conveyed all their Toledo lots for other lands which in the end brought the University \$17,000. A million of dollars at least was lost in this series of transactions.

In 1837 Michigan became one of the Union of states,

and the care of the University lands passed from the trustees of the college of Detroit to a board of regents appointed by the Governor and Senate. Governor Mason was a young man of twenty-seven years, himself having had no experience in educational work and he appointed twelve good men, indeed, but, like himself, inexperienced in the matters committed to their care and these, together with the judges of the supreme court and the Governor & Lieutenant Governor, constituted the administrative power of the unborn university. I shall in this chapter treat only the management of the land-grant.

By an act approved March 21st, 1837, the superintendent of public instruction was authorized to sell at auction so much of the university lands as should amount to the sum of \$500,000, \$20 an acre being fixed as the lowest rate at which any might be sold. The principal might stand for a number of years, bearing interest at 7 per cent., payable annually. Or, the money might be loaned to counties, not more than \$15,000 to any one county. The sales made in the first year averaged \$22.85 per acre, and the amount yielded was \$150,447.90. But another kind of legislation soon followed. The legislature began to act as if it had been the owner of the lands, rather than the trustee of the grant. They listened to the applications of purchasers, reduced the prices of lands which had been sold at public auction and in April, 1839, went so far as to pass an act which, had it gone into effect, would have substantially relinquished all these select lands to actual settlers at \$1.25 an acre. Governor Mason saved the institution by his veto of this bill.



This loose kind of legislation continued more or less for about twenty years. I will cut short the account with the general statement that the result of the action of the old board of trustees in disposing of the Toledo lots and of the kind of legislative action hinted above was to reduce a fund, which by judicious management would have exceeded \$2,000,000 to a little more than one quarter of that amount.

#### XXXIV. ANECDOTAL REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL CONDITION

The word anecdote is perhaps best used of a fresh illustration of such special pertinency that it will hold its place in memory as a reminder of a general fact or principle, which, without an incident to recall it to mind, would be lost in a vague intellectual chase. An anecdote is generally supposed to have in it an element of that kind of surprise which may stir to bodily action anywhere from the gentle smile to the violent burst of laughter. By the anecdote, however, I do not mean everything or anything which may produce giggling convulsions, though an incident which is so put as to summon into recollection a whole tribe of allied thought, must give the mind that kind of pleasure which paints itself in smiles or laughter; yet, this is not what I intend in the introduction of anecdotal matter. As a genial & schooled zoologist can, from some single bone of an extinct species of animal, rebuild in thought that animal entire, so, by his careful selection of a few incidents, the skilful historic delineator can supply to the naturally well-endowed reader, the means of restoring in conception, at least in its bold outline, if

not, indeed, in its filling up, an entire age of the past, so that it stands out clear in his vision.

It is this principle which imparts so deep an interest to ballads like that of the "Old Oaken Bucket." This ballad enables the reader to complete around a single beautifully painted feature of a happy domestic home, all else of environment that enters into the making up of that home. By this principle I have been actuated through all my sketches. The incidents introduced are often, if not always, trivial in themselves; their value all turns upon their being, or not being, of such nature that the reader can complete them into pictures of the periods & sections from which they have been taken. With this idea I have described the school-houses & schools of my boyhood in New York & Pennsylvania. In regard also to one nationality, now become so significant in our American life, I have endeavored to aid the reader's conceptions by entering into details of their transatlantic homes. This was but an attempt to indicate in brief what has modified our popular life & is still further to enter largely into our culture and history. I have endeavored to picture the log hut & the life in and around it as once illustrated on this spot which has now become a grand centre of illumination. Perhaps I can best hint a completion of this picture by referring to the remark of Reverend Mr. Doddridge, made in his unequalled little book on the Indian wars & settlement in Western Pennsylvania & Virginia, now become very rare, in which he says that he will remember the time when he did not even know that there ever was any other kind of dwelling than the log house.#

-----  
#Notes on the settlement & Indian Wars of the western parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783 by Joseph Doddridge.

Recurring now to that great revolution which produced & the later events that have preserved & fostered the religious & political ideas that were to pass the Atlantic & found our magnificent republic, I can, without speaking of this as a matter of our too common American boasting, safely say that the issue is one the like of which had not before appeared in the march of history. It is equally clear, too, that this could not have been brought about but for the series of revolutions which came first to a successful outburst in Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The partisans of the old conservative branch of the Christian church will say that another & a better form of progress would have been realized under the exclusive control of ideas fostered within that body, & I do not deem it worth while here to contest this claim; it is, however, safe to affirm that whatever might have been the issue of Christianized humanity under one unquestioned rule, it would have been very different from that which we have seen wrought out by the contests of the clashing competitive forces. I shall simply regard our little city & its school as a characteristic product of this competition & as one the like of which had not appeared before, but which may yet spring up in the western states, the later ones having the advantage of an opportunity to improve upon the model.

The predominant materials for the production of this result have been the English, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, French, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish & Norwegian dissenters from the Roman Catholic church, mixed up, however, more and more

with those who still adhere to the old body. With this mass the native American & African races have been so intermingled as to vary & complicate the culture process. Nor should we forget that a considerable Israelitish element, not dissenters from any form of Christianity, but representing the germinal ideas & forms of which the Christian system is itself the outgrowth, have entered into the American fabric. The conservative Church ingredients which have since been added to the original Protestant colonists have, indeed, modified the result, but have never yet become such as to overcome the predominance of those who had broken away from the old body.

Notable beyond all precedent has been the working of these forces. In many instances, if indeed, this has not been the rule, colonists had first fallen back from the condition of life & intelligence which they or their ancestors had gained in the old world. If we consider the want of schools & churches, the contests with forests, wild beasts & wild men & the diseases engendered by the failure of needed food, clothing & shelter, our wonder will be that the people did not decline more than they did & that their recovery & rise have been so unexampled. We have found in the latter part of the 18th century a Christian minister intelligent enough to write a book of deepest interest on the events of his time & section, himself descended from an ancestry that had lived surrounded by mansions in Europe, if, indeed, they had not occupied such, & yet he could remember the time when he did not know that there had ever been other than log houses. The standard of expenditure upon schools, & other means of intelligence as

also upon food & clothing, has on the average kept pace with that on the dwelling. If any shall claim that the purchasing power of money was greater in those days, than now, I only answer that the opposite is true. I can myself remember when my father sold his wheat at three New York shillings ,  $37\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bushel, and paid twenty-five cents a yard for cotton fabrics which can now be had for five cents, & in regard to many, if not most, other things a like ratio of prices prevailed. Nothing except labor, and that was generally his own, cost less than now. They simply lived without what are now deemed the necessities of life. Their own flax & wool, spun & woven in the house, clothed them. The forest, the pig-sty & the field supplied their tables. If they had no shoes, they went barefoot. More than one general of the revolution has driven his oxen to the plow & the cart, after his retirement from service in the war, clad in the tow frock & trowsers, the material produced & manufactured all by his own family. Where sharp stones & briars were not in the way, there was a pleasant coolness felt in the contact of the bare feet with the freshly turned up earth, & as to the women, they moved with greater comfort, their naked feet on their bare floors & on the surroundings of their humble domiciles, than they would have done with imprisoned feet.

It has been little thought of by any age of the past what an interest a distant posterity might feel in its habits & so it has come about that these have not been very fully transmitted in literature. Perhaps the following incident relating to high life may prove suggestive; it

is, too, quite in the line of the culture scenes I am endeavoring to sketch.

Manasseh Cutler, in his diary under date of July 14th, 1787, sketches a visit made while in Philadelphia to the botanic garden of Mr. Bartram, doubtless the best establishment of its kind in the country. The Bartram mansion was a large stone edifice on the Scuykill, near the city, & had descended from the great botanist's ancestors. The company made up for the visit will be indicated by the following names;- Mr. Strong, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason & his son, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge & Mr. Hamilton, all of whom were members of the convention then in session to form a constitution for our Republic. The reader will recognize among these names that of the man who is credited with having done more than any other towards giving our government its shape, as also those of a future president & a future chief-justice. Besides these & Dr. Cutler himself, were a Mr. Vaughn & Dr. Clarkson & son. This august party alighted from their carriages, descended into Mr. Bartram's garden, which lay spread out between the mansion & the river, & there, as Dr. Cutler writes, "We found him, with another man, hoeing in his garden, in a short jacket & trowsers & without shoes or stockings. He at first stared at us & seemed to be somewhat embarrassed at seeing so large & gay a company, so early in the morning. Dr. Clarkson was the only person he knew, who introduced me to him, & informed him that I wished to converse with him on botanical subjects, & as I lived in one of the Northern States, would probably inform him of trees & plants which he had not

yet in his collection, & that the other gentlemen wished for the pleasure of a walk in his garden."

A Philadelphia gentleman in short jacket & tow trowsers, his bare feet in the cool loam of his elegant garden, in which he vigorously plies his hoe, forms an interesting single feature in the life of one century ago. In the afternoon of July 14th, 1787, Mr. Bartram would, no doubt have been prepared to receive as genteel a company as that which had called upon him in the morning of that day. He probably knew his neighbor, Old Ben Franklin & his distich ascribed to Poor Richard:-

"He that by the plow would thrive,  
Himself must either hold or drive,"

& was practicing upon the lesson.

From the time when the entry cited above was made in Dr. Cutler's diary to that when it was given to the public, one hundred & one years, that is, a plump century, elapsed. No one is living whose personal memory takes in the time; but there live many whose parents had at that day already attained to their majority, who afterwards sketched in homely story at the domestic fireside the family life & its appurtenances of an hundred years before. From these stories literature has recovered some fragments of a once lost treasure & , if we will permit ourselves to be led through the dwellings of the Atlantic cities, those of the thrifty farmers of the old states & the huts of their posterity, about that time beginning to penetrate the wilderness beyond their western frontiers, we may view a fair picture of life at this new starting point.

Let us first pass through the best class of farm house in the east & make note of its construction, furnishing & industries. It may be deemed quite exceptional, if it knows ought of paint outside, or within. It may be built of hewn logs, or it may be a frame, & the former is often the better house. The walls & floors are bare. If the housewife be of the neat & orderly class, floors, doors & window casings are kept scrubbed with soap & sand, the old-fashioned splint broom made of a hickory sapling, after having served its time in a higher use, being used in the process of scrubbing the floor, while a bundle of rushes gathered from the lowlands is employed upon doors, windows & wooden vessels. The habit of going barefoot we shall find conducive to cleanliness of floors, if not of feet.

As to furniture, we notice first that of the kitchen. The fire-place is here central. In this swings on hinges as a gate an iron crane, of a length about equal to the width of the fire-place. On it hangs by what are called pothooks, pots, kettles, or a griddle, or several such articles at once. The crane, for convenience in suspending these cooking utensils, can be swung out, so as not to hang over the fire. Other utensils are seen about this centre, of which the frying-pan is most in use. It has a handle about three feet long, that the house-wife may hold it without being scorched by the fierce blaze of the fire. This handle is sometimes placed upon a chair-slat, or in the hands of child, while the busy matron slips off to perform some other service.

Let it be a winter morning on which we take this round



of observation. At evening of the preceding day the fuel for the morning had been brought in. This consisted of a back-log so heavy that it had to be rolled & took perhaps two persons to get it through the door, a fore-stick & some smaller pieces. The log is expected to last several days, so that this description of the making of a fire applies to but two or three mornings of the week. The father or eldest son rises first & builds up & fires the pile in the fire-place. By the time the matron has risen & got the cooking well under way, the father & the boys have come in from their foddering & other care of the stock, & the girls from milking the cows, for milking by men belongs to a later epoch in our development, & are in turn washing & warming themselves to be ready for breakfast. All sit, or rather stand huddled around this one fire, its blaze rising fiercely up between the back log and forestick, their sides towards the fire burning, while chills run over those turned away. The children are unusually good, if there is no scuffling for places, & the mother is quite a saint, if her patience holds out. The contents of the frying-pan are sizzling under the forestick - the reader may imagine what it means to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire - the griddle is swinging back & forth between the hearth & the hot blaze, adding to the ever accumulating stock of the buckwheat cakes. Well, they are seated at the table, except one of the girls, who is stationed for repairing the rapid waste of the supply of cakes.

We look further. The men are away, gone to the woods to chop wood, or perhaps to hunt, or to the barn to thresh.

This latter work is done with an instrument now unknown, called a flail, the children are away in the log school-house, & there sit, a rousing fire on one side of the house, those near it scorching, those distant asking, "please, may I go to the fire?"

But we did not finish our observations in the farmhouse. Let us go back. On one side of the great chimney in which we found the fire-place, is the pantry. We shall find there no tin pans as now. The corresponding vessels are of wood. A small tub, called a keeler, is the dish-pan. In shallow wooden vessels the milk is set away for the cream to rise. As to plates, a few of them may yet be of wood, others of pewter; but earthen dishes are already in use for the table. The recess on the other side of the fire-place is used for wood. The boys keep it supplied. It is not in a wood-box, but piled at the chimney-side. As to furniture the splint-bottomed chair is prominent, the pater familias himself having woven in the seats of black-ash splints. Other articles than chairs answer the purpose of seats, of which the dye-tub sitting at the chimney corner, is quite uniformly one.

The appearance of the kitchen is not a little varied by the season of the year. We are now in midwinter. The chief article besides the table & chairs is the small spinning-wheel for the manufacture of linen. This, in a well-kept house, is not allowed to run until the breakfast is out of the way, as it scatters around it a dust from the flax fibre. Besides this must be a reel to run the thread off the spindles & form it into skeins. I must not forget

the looking-glass that hangs near a window in which lies a comb, the two the common property of the family, each member using it in turn, having first taken their turns in the use of the wash-basin, for which they must go outside the door.

As spring comes on a loom is found put up in one corner of the kitchen, while the small spinning-wheels are set out of the way, & the clatter of the weaving takes the place of their hum, that linen fabrics may be ready for the summer wear.

In June is another change. The wool has come from the carding - machine in rolls, if, indeed, this work is not done with handcards at home, & the big wheels for wool-spinning are brought into play. The loom is not taken down for summer. It will soon be needed for woollen fabrics, &, as to the wool-spinning, the girls can retreat with it into garrets & barns. The scene is a lively one. They skip on their bare-feet back & forth as they alternately draw out & wind up their yarn. In this work, that the fore-finger of the right-hand may not have to bear too hard a strain, a wooden peg, called a wheel-boy, is employed, its round head prevents its slipping from the spokes of the wheel, & the whole strength of the right arm may be expended upon it. This little instrument is often the product of the artistic whittling of the girl's beau. The wool-spinning has not proceeded far before the clatter of the loom is again heard that woollen garments may be ready for the return of winter.

If our round through the house were made in a winter evening we should find a considerable variation in the domestic scene. We should, indeed, still find the whole family in the kitchen, for there is no other room for its usual gathering; but the industrial showing might be quite another. Though the matron of the establishment might still be running her wheel, she would be more likely to be employed in repairing the breaches which the day had made in some garment of the urchins, or, perhaps, the husband. If the damaged articles were coats, jackets, or stockings, they might be taken off & the repairs proceeded with while the disrobed member remained the gayest of the gay in the evening circle. Or the damaged garment might be one without which the etiquette of the time would not tolerate one in the party; if so, the matron's work must wait until the object of her tender solicitude shall have withdrawn for the night. We will take note of the rest of the household. As the family is a thrifty one, all are busy. The wash-tub has been brought in full of ears of corn. The long pan-handle which we saw in another use in the morning, has been thrust through the ears of the tub, there fastened firmly & the corn is shelled by drawing the ears forcibly across the edges of the handle. The cobs are thrown upon the hearth & the younger children build houses with them, until they are finally thrown into the fire when they serve the place of candles, in the use of which articles economy has to be observed. It is the eldest boy who has in charge the tub of corn. The father is busy with shaping a scoop-shovel from a section of a baswood trunk, or a butter-ladle from a

beech block, or making a splint broom from a hickory sapling, or is mending his harness. As to the literary entertainment of the group, it consists in accounts of the day's adventures at school, together with some preparations for the next day's school-work. The pitcher of cider & the plate of apples, standing on the hearth, contribute to the domestic cheer, while the coming in of a neighbor to sit for the evening does not interrupt the industrial occupations of the household, but rather adds in stories of adventure to the good cheer of the circle. But there may be an hundred variations in the evening's work. It may be molding rifle-balls for a hunt, in which a child may be employed in trimming off the necks of the balls caused by the opening at which the lead was poured in.

The members of the family group are moving in succession for their night quarters. And here I ought to inform the reader that in the late autumn, when the weaving of the woolen fabrics is done, the loom is taken down & a bed takes its place in the corner of the room. In a trundle-bed drawn from beneath this two or three of the younger children are packed away early in the evening. They are where their parents can attend to them in the night. The larger ones retire to rooms that have never felt the cheerful glow of combustion, the boys to the garret where the snow blows in, banks of it lie near their bed in the morning, & the moisture of their breath congeals on their eye-brows & in their hair.

Now in looking over my picture I feel an apprehension that it shows an advance upon the actual condition of the better eastern farmers' families of an hundred years ago.

Indeed, it would not badly fit my father's household of nearly half a century later & that was the best-ordered one of its neighborhood in Central New York. The blaze of the fire, or of cobs, hickory-bark, or pitch-pine knots made the light by which I have worked out many a hard sum in Old Daball's Arithmetic; for I never took arithmetic in the common school, but went through the whole book in the evening, chiefly by the light of pine-knots which I had carried home when returning from the labors of the day. And here I am reminded of the household process of dipping candles, long since superceded. I have often helped my mother in this work. Of the present generation few would understand the question of the witty Rufus Choate put to an eccentric Baptist minister, who appeared as a witness in a suit in which Choate was one of the attornies. The minister represented himself as the "candle of the Lord," upon which the counsel promptly said:- "You are a dip-candle, are you not, sir?"

Two annual visitations in the house ought not to be omitted in this sketch; I refer to those of the shoemaker & the tailloress. Early in the autumn the shoemaker, who had been a farmer in summer, was domiciled for a week or two in the farmer's house to fit out the family with shoes. I have refered to the tailloress as an annual member in the better families; she might have been called semi-annually; but the chief work was to make winter clothing for the men & boys. Women's clothing was usually cut by patterns & made by themselves.

It should not be forgotten that in each house of the thrifty class of which I have written there was another room besides the kitchen in which was a fire-place. This was usually known as the spare bed-room, & was used only for guests, in which character both the shoemaker & tailor-ess were regarded. For the entertainment of company who were not to remain over night, the opening & warming of this apartment was reserved for state occasions on which some pomp & ceremony were to be exhibited. Otherwise in winter it was never opened.

As the foregoing pictures set forth the condition of the best rural households, it remains to hint that of the lower strata in the rural life of a century ago in the eastern Middle states. The sketch shall be finished in a few strokes. The home was a hut of round logs. I take the fire-place still as the centre of the family life. The breadth of this was often not limited by jambs. A lug-pole took the place of the crane & some kind of apology for jambs supported the ends of the pole. Where the pantry should have been were several shelves on which was seen the dull leaden glow of a few pewter plates. In one corner was a bed. Aside from the one room below was a garret reached by a ladder in one corner of the room. The floor was of loose boards, which wobbled & rattled when walked over. Its light entered from below & around through the cracks. It combined, as did the room under it, the utilities of a place of storage & one of rest & seclusion. The furniture of this entire structure may be conceived on the scale indicated in the above picture.

Let us stop a moment & see this family at the breakfast table, though it would make no difference whether it were breakfast, dinner or supper. They are not naturally boorish, but are kind & deferential to each other, though it may seem otherwise, as they can be. Before them is a platter of fried meat & the dish is brim full of gravy. Let a stack of buckwheat cakes complete this bill of fare. Each helps himself to the meat, each sops his piece of pancake in the common dish, so that the scene is made up of a succession of passages back & forth between the gravy-dish & each of the gaping mouths which surround the table. The scene seems rude; it was, nevertheless, a common one of the ancestry of many who are now of highest social & intellectual rank & as warm hearts throbbed under this coarse exterior as now beat in the bosoms of a more polished posterity. What this family paid out for its living beyond that which it produced on its own ground may have amounted to twenty-dollars of good money a year; the other family, if large, might spend an hundred.

This review wants now but a paragraph or two & the purpose shall be to indicate the fashion & spirit of the first movement from such eastern homes as I have described to the Valley of the Mississippi, & this has been partly done. From Virginia & the Carolinas to Kentucky & Tennessee, the bridle-path, the pack-horse & the moving caravan with its cattle, women & children walking or riding in trains of an hundred to six times that number, enter into the view. The colony led in 1781 in spiritual matters by



Reverend Lewis Craig, with his organized Church, & marshaled by Captain Ellis, numbered nearly six hundred & were more than three months on the way, their progress hindered by Indian hostility. Reaching their destination, the Kentucky settlers often lived in houses without floors, or windows, almost without furniture, alternating between these rude homes on their own lands & the forst they had built for their protection against the Indians. They struggled against this state of things until 1794, one in every ten falling a prey to savage marauding parties, & then began the unexampled career which has made the West what it is. I have already sketched the first New England Ohio movement of 1787, as also that nearly half a century later in which was formed the nucleus of our University Town, & need but recall attention here to these sketches as marking the opening of our grand educational expansion.

Strong & deep-working religious activities have ever been the natural precursors of new educational impulses. It will be found true here. The most marked agitation of this kind, an expansion of that which attended the preaching tours of Whitefield, was that which had its centre in Kentucky & began with the year 1801. There it shook not human minds only, but their physical investments, & became a widespread & mighty epidemic, the bodily action stronger & more uncontrollable where ignorance was deepest, as in Kentucky & Tennessee. In these states the struggles with savages & forests had paralyzed the efforts at establishing schools, a monument of which privation may be found in the great numbers of legal instruments of the time executed by

persons who could not write their names. This agitation gradually spread all over the country, attended more or less everywhere by extreme bodily demonstrations, extending into the fourth decade of the century & generating wherever it went new institutions for education.

If we should go back a decade of years beyond the opening scenes of the Revolution, inform ourselves of the condition of the people of that age, & then compare this with the present, we should find greater differences than had ever before been wrought in any people of any age in the same length of time. The people were not, indeed, so distressingly poor as they had become at the close of the Revolution; but the oldseignorial system prevailed. The Tudors & Stuarts of England, the Bourbons of France, the Spanish monarchs & even their High Mightinesses of Holland, had bestowed large grants with rights of lordship over the tenants who should settle upon their lands. There were of course the great seigniors with their manor houses. To these proprietors the tenants had to pay their feudal dues. There were such lordly establishments as those of Sir William Johnson & his son Sir John in the Mohawk Valley, & the Van Rensalaers & Livingstons on the Hudson, & their like might be mentioned as existing in the Atlantic states south. These feudal institutions never became quite extinct in New York until the year 1846, & a conflict in the fifth decade of our own century is still known as the "Anti-rent war." I have myself conversed with men in Ulster County on the Hudson, who had paid their feudal dues to the lord of the manor from products of higher value down to a chicken, a dozen eggs & a few bushels of ashes; but in the exodus

which took place soon after the war of the Revolution from the Atlantic states over the Alleghanies to the great valley of the Mississippi, was conveyed no vestige of the feudal system. This western movement was but the world's mightiest demonstration in the great rush for a perfect equality of rights.

Equality of rights, I say; for differences of condition were, from this time forth to be wrought out by personal exertion, no longer to be expected from royal bounty. True feudal institutions existed in the Mississippi Valley. They had been established by France & Spain & it was intended that they should be kept up with all the rigor of the trans-Atlantic original. But the French nobility seldom emigrated & nobles had to be created from military officers & other commoners. To these the feudal tenants had to render their homage. They came & knelt at the door of the seigniory, itself a log house, a little larger than the peasant's own cabin, & there, with head bare & without boots or spurs, called the name of the seignior, & pledged him fealty & homage. And yet so poor were often these lords themselves that their children were running around with no garments but shirts & their wives & daughters were in the fields at work.

What remains there were of this old institution in the posts of French North America which had come into the possession of the United States, were swallowed up by the inundating wave which from the close of the Revolution rolled on to the westward. These French people who had remained stationary, or had fallen back from the condition in which they had left France in the reign of Louis XIV,

now began to enter into the spirit of the movement which had overtaken them, & here began their fusion into the common mass of the new Republic. When John Allen & Elisha W. Rumsey drove their rude sledge to the wooded site of our university city in 1824, the foregoing sketch of rural domestic life was still true of large parts of New York & Pennsylvania, & twenty two years were yet to elapse before the last remains of feudalism on the Hudson were to give way.

#### XXXV. THE UNIVERSITY INITIAL ACTION

In the improverished & agitated condition reviewed in the foregoing chapter our western higher school & university movement may be said to have had its rise. Of this the city & school of which I write is a typical product. I now return to our scholastic institution.

In the constitutional convention which sat in Detroit in the spring and summer of 1835 sat among others the Honorable Issac E. Crary, of Marshall. He had previously obtained a copy of a translation of Cousin's report on the Prussian system of education and, in company with the Reverend John D. Pierce, in whose family he and his young wife boarded, had carefully studied it. In this convention Mr. Crary was made chairman of the committee on education and reported a provision for an educational system as nearly like the Prussian as the genius of our government would permit. He was not only a man of push, but of considerable sagacity, as his action both in the state convention and in congress will show, for he was the first representative of Michigan as a state in that body. Before leaving to

take his seat in congress, he requested the appointment by the governor of his friend, Mr. Pierce, to the office of superintendent of public instruction, which had been created by the convention and then in congress was the mover in revolutionizing the system of land-grants for schools. The first grants for primary schools, those for Ohio, had been made to the townships, the lands to be held perpetually and leased. The university lands were also to be held by the state in like manner. In regard to primary school lands in Michigan, Mr. Crary introduced into the ordinance admitting the state into the Union, a provision which conveyed these lands to the state, to be disposed of as the legislature should direct and it is supposed also that he was the author of a like provision in reference to the university lands. It was the superintendent's duty, as defined by an act approved July 26th, 1836, to make out an inventory of the lands and other property reserved for educational purposes, give in writing his views of their disposition, and make out a plan for the organization of a common school and university system. Mr. Pierce's report on these points was submitted to the legislature in January, 1837, a few days before the admission of Michigan into the Union and the work of carrying the plan into execution was rushed onward.

The plan and the hope cherished for its realization were magnificent and, indeed, looked back upon from the present time seem quite ridiculous and absurd. The plan embraced a branch of the university in each county of the state, and several were established the first year of

Michigan's statehood. As I do not intend to give any detailed account of these academies, I will close up my treatment of them right here. Those actually set up, seven in number, cost the university fund from 1837 to 1846 \$35,935, and then the supreme court decided that the university, as provided for by the congressional grant, must be a single institution in one place, which decision put an end to the branches and the high schools in due time began to rise and take the place thus made vacant.

I now turn to the university proper. The law for its organization was approved March 18th, 1837. Two days later the act which located the institution at Ann Arbor was passed. The Ann Arbor land company first offered five acres of ground for the purpose. Governor Felch, the last survivor of the first state legislature, told Mr. Kingsley, representative from Ann Arbor, that the offer was ridiculously small and Kingsley came home and returned to the capitol with one of forty acres, which was accepted and a bill was passed making this place the site of the institution. A report has been current, when and how it originated I know not, that the citizens raised \$20,000 and sent this sum by a committee to be employed in securing the desired legislation. A further report says that the lobby brought about the legislation without the aid of the money and themselves appropriated this to their own use. Mr. Felch thinks, and no one has been so well situated to know, that no money was ever used or raised for the purpose and that the whole transaction was an honest one.

An anecdote of Mr. Crary may here take the place of

a more extended notice. He once made a set speech in Congress, it will make no difference upon what subject, though I think it was a criticism on some military measure, to which Thomas Corwin, afterwards Governor of Ohio, replied with such withering sarcasm as to fix upon our Michigan orator the nickname of "the late General Crary," said to have been suggested by John Quincy Adams. Soon after this scene in the house the passengers in a stage-coach in Ohio were reviewing the occurrence with no little merriment at its issue & had all taken part except one man who sat silent in a corner of the coach. This man, being now asked for an opinion on the congressional scene, replied that 'he could authoritatively confirm all he had heard, for he was himself the late general Crary.' Without attempting a comparison of the extinguished man with his extinguisher, it may be said that Mr. Corwin was subject to great variations of mood. Governor Felch, who was a member of the Senate with him, says that Corwin used to come to his committee-room when in a fit of depression & express regret that he ever made a speech. He doubtless felt in the calmness of after-thought that he had done injustice to those against whom he had indulged his sarcasm. As to the late General Crary, his merit for what he did directly & what was effected by his securing the appointment of Mr. Pearce as Superintendant of Public Instruction, ought to perpetuate his name in the history of education.

The organic law of March 18th, 1837, authorized the board to procure a plan for building, which, if adopted by the regents and approved by the governor & superintendent of public instruction was to be carried out. They employed

an architect in New Haven, whose draft of a plan was accepted by the regents and approved by the governor; but Mr. Pierce, the superintendent, had the wisdom and courage to interpose his veto. The buildings would have cost all that the university fund ever amounted to, and the state would have had a fine building for a university, but it would have stood tenantless for want of funds to carry on the school. An indignation meeting was threatened in Ann Arbor, but did not take place, and all reflective men now know that the veto of a poor Presbyterian minister saved the institution from extinction in embryo.

#### XXXVI. OPENING OF THE SCHOOL

In pursuance of an act of the legislature approved April 6th, 1838, a loan of \$100,000 was negotiated through the bank of Michigan for the University, in order that the preparation for the work of instruction might proceed without delay. Work was going on in the branches that a class might be ready as soon as possible for the central school. Building at Ann Arbor was in progress, not on the magnificent scale of the architect's plan, but still on a scale which the resources of the institution would not bear. The design was to build twelve houses for professors, four of which were built at a cost of somewhat over \$32,000. Had the twelve been built, this alone would just about have exhausted the loan. The two dormitory buildings which now form the wings of the main edifice were successively put up, the second, however, not till some years after the opening of the school. The exact cost is not now in my mind; I think it was about \$35,000. July 17th, 1838, Dr.



Asa Gray was elected Professor of Botany and Zoology, and being about to sail for Europe, the sum of \$6,500 was put into his hands, \$1,500 as his year's salary, \$5,000 to purchase the beginnings of a library. The regents paid in 1837 \$4,000 for Baron Lederer's collection of minerals, and a few months later \$970 for a copy of Audubon's Birds of America. This was four years before the opening of the University and with the carrying on of the branches and a few other expenditures exhausted the loan. In September, 1841, a freshman class was ready and the central institution was opened by calling two principals of branches, Professors Williams and Whiting, to professorships in the University. These men had received \$1,500 a year for their work in the branches. But such was then already the low condition of the finances that their salaries were reduced to \$700 and the use of their houses, which were deemed to be worth \$150 each, making \$850, just about half of what had been expected as the average salary of the University professor.

These two professors were aided by a tutor and, having during their first year but a single college class were able to carry on a preparatory school. Indeed, this school was continued for three years, that is, until the first class entered senior, and all that up to this time had been required for carrying on the work of an eastern college was in operation here. Other provisions were early made looking to the future of the University, the chief of which were but incidents of the state plan of a geological survey. A law approved in February, 1837, provided for this and

Dr. Douglass Houghton, of Detroit, was placed at its head. The same year Dr. Abram Sager was made chief of the botanical and zoological branches of the survey. The work in zoology Dr. Sager himself took charge of, while Dr. Wright, of whose person and work I have little information, had in charge the work in botany. As the geological survey was a matter of the state and not of the University, a question may arise as to the propriety of its introduction in a sketch of the University. The answer is obvious. The state legislation provided that complete sets of specimens collected in this survey should be deposited with the University, and these, together with the Baron Lederer collection formed the basis of the extensive provision for natural history study now in possession of the institution.

Then also, in 1842, Drs. Houghton and Sager were made professors in the University, to enter upon actual service when the demand should arise. Dr. Houghton's place was that of Professor of Chemistry and Geology. Dr. Sager was to take the place of Dr. Gray, who never entered upon his work here, but accepted the professorship of botany in Harvard college. Nor did Dr. Houghton ever enter upon service, but when a demand arose for instruction in the department which had been assigned to him, he furnished a substitute in the person of his relative, Dr. S. H. Douglass, who, in 1846, Dr. Houghton having been drowned in Lake Superior in 1845, was elected to the place.

It being generally thought that Dr. Houghton was drowned from the Indian canoe now in the University museum, and that this is kept as a memorial of the sad occurrence,

I will in passing correct the impression by observing that the canoe, now in the museum, was suspended to the beams in the woodhouse connected with the eastern University house on the north side of the campus when I took possession of the premises in September, 1844, somewhat more than a year before Dr. Houghton's death. It remained there for about two years because it could not be gotten into the door of the dormitory building and so turned as to be carried up stairs. It was finally raised through a window into the room then occupied as a museum.

The class that entered freshman in 1841, became seniors in 1844, making further provision for instruction necessary. At this time I was elected to the Professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Dr. Douglass, as indicated above, was employed to give instruction in the physical sciences. The name of Reverend Edward Thompson, of Cincinnati had stood for some time on the catalogue as professor elect to the chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; but he never entered upon duty and, when in 1844, he was required to do so, or resign, he chose the latter alternative and afterwards was made one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church. Professors Fasquelle and Sager were earlier under appointment, but neither entered upon duty until 1846. Thus I have sketched the history of the University up to the time of my own connection with it. It began with a course quite equal to that of the average eastern college and men to carry it on; for at that time the great expansion of the course, which has since taken place, had scarcely been entered upon in any American institution.

## XXXVII. ANN ARBOR IN 1844 - 1851

In September, 1844, my family took possession of the east university house on the north side of the campus. Professor Williams' family lived in the house next to us. The two houses on the opposite side were occupied respectively by Professor Whiting and Honorable Alpheus Felch, then one of the judges of the supreme court of the state, he having removed to this place from Monroe in 1843. On the east side of State street there were no houses; unless it were <sup>a</sup> little one far north on the descent of the ground towards the river. On the west side of this street there were a few houses on this street itself, but these marked the eastern limit of the village. The ground lying between this street and the old cemetery was untenanted and untilled, and was known as "the common." A house built by an official of the University, Patrick Kelly, the janitor, may be deemed an exception to my remark about the vacancy of this common. It is not really so. The house stood on ground which would not for some years be in the village. It is standing now on North University Avenue and forms the front of a stuccoed house on the corner of that avenue and Twelfth street.

This so-called "common" had been a part of the Rumsey farm, of which was also the University campus. All had been under cultivation. The remains of a peach orchard still stood in my garden and front yard and yielded us for several years heavy burdens of fruit of a choice kind.

The first house east of us was on the Fletcher farm, so-called from Chief-Justice, William A. Fletcher. It

was still owned at the time of which I write by his monomaniac and divorced wife, who occupied the house alone so far as human beings were concerned; but she kept in it her cow and her hay. When several years later it was taken possession of by authority, money was found sticking around in its crevices and doubtless delivered to distant heirs; for she had no children.

The Fletcher farm was bounded westward by the University campus. My earliest recollection of it is of a field of rye, its extent north and south being the same with the University grounds. In the joints of its worm fence grew white and red oak sprouts, which the observing reader will recognize as the originals of a line of oak trees, which now adorn the east side of East University Avenue. Some large oaks which stand directly in the walk on Washtenaw, between East University avenue and Church street, had a like origin. The walk has been built around them.

As to the campus itself, the regents allowed Patrick Kelley to grow two successive crops of wheat upon it, that it might be brought into an appropriate condition for a college campus. The crops were harvested and marketed and the ground remained about as it had been before the first sowing, so that two crops from thirty acres of ground were obtained without payment of the stipulated rental.

The place held by Patrick he deemed about equal to that of a professor and doubtless its emolument, with the wheat crops and other perquisites, had about that value. He felt his oats. He read the books of the library. He rang the bell according to his convenience, rather than by his

clock. If his pipe went out on the way to ring the bell, he went back and relighted it. If he met any one he always had some words with him. I remember well the vigor with which he assailed the administrative labors of Lord Castlereagh in conversations with me. Soon after my arrival on the ground, I began to insist that the bell should be rung by the clock. It was hard work, but was brought to pass as nearly, perhaps, as old habits have ever been reformed. A story may be here thrown in which will have an application all around, that is, to janitor, students and professors.

We had an arrangement by which the members of the senior class delivered in turn orations on Friday evenings at 5 o'clock P.M. before the students assembled for prayers. At evening prayers I alone of the professors was usually present. One evening a young man of marked ability for an undergraduate of that day, or this, was called upon the platform in his turn, for this was all the concern I had in the matter, assuming as I must do, that the oration had passed the ordeal of the professor of rhetoric. The orator, though young, had been ordained to the Methodist ministry, which he long afterwards adorned. He was quite at his ease on the platform. His oration was a eulogy on some great man whom he did not name. As the terms he employed advanced in eulogistic fervor, or varied in their pictures of worthy deeds, the hearers would fix the name in conception, General Cass, for instance, and then have to change it for one beyond the limits of Michigan, wonder all the time increasing as to whose name would finally come out, the hearers became ready for an explosion when the orator

pronounced the following as his last words: "And generations yet unborn will still arise to pronounce with veneration the name of Patrick Kelley."

The oration, of course, had never been in the hands of the Professor of Rhetoric and the young man was called by that professor and received a moderate rebuke; but his standing in the University remained as ever before. It was about equivalent to the verdict of the Scotch jury: "Not guilty, but better<sup>not</sup> do it again."

In 1844, as indicated above, there was nothing but the University buildings and farming lands east of State street, and building had just begun on the west front of that street. In what is now the southern part of the city to the northward of Allen's creek was a large brick-yard and the buildings forming the village lacked yet some distance of having reached this yard. The populous district, now forming most of the second ward was then farming land and the third ward, was the Hiscock's farm. What is now the fifth ward was then the Lower Town and had a somewhat thrifty business, the result of Mr. Brown's early effort to transplant the business activity to the north side of the river. Lund & McCollum were carrying on a large mercantile establishment there and Sinclair's mill was doing a thriving work. The Lower Town had then nearly its present extent. The foregoing description shows how circumscribed was that part of the village known as the Upper Town. As already indicated, State street was its eastern limit, Allen's creek its western, except that two roads, the one now Huron street, the other Miller avenue, had some houses beyond the indicated boundary.

To retrace a Sunday morning's walk to church may as well as ought else indicate an aspect of the village of that day. My wife and I might have been seen, that is, if their had been anybody to see us, issuing about 10 o'clock in the morning from the front door of the eastern house on the north side of the University square, traversing a path along the west side of the old cemetery and descending into the wooded ravine on the eastern side of which now stand the magnificent hospital buildings. This ravine threaded, we came to the river road, now known as Fuller street, pursued it till we came near the only house we were to encounter until within a few rods of the church - that is, the Kellogg farm house which still stands at the corner of Fuller and Observatory streets - there wheeling about to the left we crossed the river and were soon at the church on Wall street.

It will be perceived that a moderate ambition was felt by those who laid out and named the streets of the Lower Town. The main thoroughfare through the place was called Broadway. The first street coming into it from the southeast was Wall street. But the example of the great eastern rival was not followed in the building of the church. In the eastern city Trinity church is built on Broadway at the head of Wall, so that he who walks up the latter can look upon its magnificent facade. But our church was on Wall street itself, so that there was no point of view from which it displayed any great magnificence.

In our return from church we generally took the way of Wall and Broadway, so as to have the company of two or



of three fellow-pilgrims. If, however, on crossing the Lower Town bridge we took the left by way of State street, we still had to make the whole remainder of the way alone; so we sometimes came around by way of Detroit and Huron streets.

On a Sunday afternoon of 1845, or 1846, sitting at my window, I saw a flock of wild turkeys coming from the southwest, touching the common near the junction of state street and north University avenue, move on, keeping their direction till they passed out of sight in the ravine north of the old cemetery, having traversed, doubtless, the entire extent of a line which promises soon to divide the city into two nearly equal parts. The prairie fowls used at that time to fly over the town back and forth between some swamp lands lying on the northwest of the town and the extensive section of swampy grounds lying to the southeast. But this class of occurrences were seldom repeated after the period here referred to. During this period Professor Williams & I sometimes took our fowling pieces on Saturdays & went to the woods, which came then very near us, for partridges, to which I ought to add that I have no recollection of ever having shot one of these birds; but I once killed one with a stone, which brings out another feature of the life of the time. We all then kept cows which ran at large & often strayed to the neighboring forests. One Saturday afternoon of vacation, when the student who did our chores was away, I went to look for the cow, saw a partridge not distant & running from me, threw a stone and killed the bird. On returning home with the game & the

cow my sister suggested that I would do well always to take a stone instead of my gun.

As we are on the subject of sporting I give another incident of the time. The Reverend Mr. Wilson, Rector successively of the Episcopal churches in Pontiac & Ypsilanti, was spending a vacation with Professor Williams, his brother-in-law & on a hot Saturday morning called to me to know if I would drive him with my horse & buggy to Whitmore lake to fish. We took the drive & fished, not greatly to the damage of the finny tribes till about four o'clock in the afternoon, & as he stood carelessly winding up his line, tipt over backwards into the water. I picked up his hat which floated on the water; he was a good swimmer, & as I sat in the boat on the other side & balanced it, he climbed back into it. There was no alternative but that he ride home in this condition & it was long before he heard the last of the joke about Mr. Ten Brook's having baptized him.

At that time no milkmen distributed their nutritious fluid in the village. While many citizens kept buggies - I always kept one myself & a livery-stable accomodated the public with these vehicles - there was not a hack in the place; nor was there an undertaker. This state of things is impressed upon me by one of those apparently trifling occurrences which are not easily forgotten. We lost an infant child in October 1848 & Mrs. Volney Chapin sent us for the occasion of the funeral her carriage, the only respectable one then in the place.

As to architecture, the good houses of this period, aside from those on the grounds, might have been counted on

the fingers of one hand. The house built by John W. Maynard, in which his family still lives, on Division street, was there in 1844, as was that also of Robert S. Wilson, corner of Division and Ann streets, and now owned by Mr. Wahr. William S. Maynard had a fine place, now a boarding house, on Main street. George Miles, afterwards one of the judges of the supreme court, had built the house on the corner of Huron and Division streets, and now owned by John Sheehan; it was built as a one story house and afterwards improved to its present condition successively by William Sinclair and Henry W. Rogers.

As to trees, the owners of property had left standing many of the original bur-oaks, where these were not in the way of the progress of improvement, and people were beginning to set out maples and elms. I myself set out in front of the house occupied by my family two elms and a linden which are now probably the largest transplanted trees in the city.

The population of Ann Arbor at the time, of which I here write, was not far from 2,500. In 1851 the place obtained a city charter, which diminished rather than increased its population, since the Lower Town refused to be reckoned in the new city.

#### XXXVIII. THE CHURCHES AGAIN

The rise of those of the churches of Ann Arbor, which were organized before the year 1844, has already been traced, with a promise to return to the subject and give some account of those of later origin.

The Congregational church was organized in March 1847, its constituent members numbering forty-eight. These had

been connected with the Presbyterians. The cause of separation was chiefly a friction which originated in different views of the slavery question. The retiring members took advance views of what should be done towards a removal of the evil. The new body at once entered upon measures for building a church edifice. This was of brick, its site at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Washington street, the court house having been occupied as a place of worship until the church was completed. The growth of this body has been steadily progressive. The present stone edifice, corner of State and William streets, was built in 1876, soon after which time the original house passed into the possession of Zion's (Lutheran) church, which had then recently been organized by a colony from the first Lutheran, or Bethlehem church. The church has had eleven pastors, whose names follow: E.P. Ingersoll, L.S. Hobert, William L. Mather, Joseph Estabrook, George Candee, Samuel Cochrane, E. A. Baldwin, William Smith, H. L. Hubbell, William H. Ryder and the present pastor, Rev. J. W. Bradshaw.

The Unitarian church was organized in January 1867, with Reverend Charles H. Brigham as pastor. About a month after its organization the property known as the old Methodist church, corner of Ann street and Fifth avenue, was purchased by the society, the building was repaired and Mr. Brigham remained in the pastorate until May 1877, when he resigned on account of failing health and died in the city of Brooklyn in 1879. He was a man of extensive learning and wrote much for the higher periodicals.

In October 1878, the present pastor, Rev. J. T. Sunderland,

entered upon his pastorate, soon after which measures were begun for building the present stone edifice at the corner of State and Huron streets. There is an active literary club connected with the church which keeps up its annual course of lectures much to the instruction and entertainment of considerable audiences of the people of Ann Arbor.

Zion church, Evangelical Lutheran, was organized in 1875 by a colony from the Bethlehem church. One hundred sixty-nine were within a few weeks enrolled as members. As indicated above, the old Congregational church edifice at the corner of Washington street and Fifth avenue was purchased for the use of the organization and has remained its place of assembly until the present year, when active measures were entered upon for the erection of a new church, which is now complete and will rank with the best structures of its kind in Ann Arbor. It is 65 x 98 feet. The main tower rises to the height of 145 feet. It has another tower of 75 feet in height. It is creditable to the intelligence and skill of the members of the body that the work, architecture and all, has been by members of the society, Messrs. Koch Brothers, Sauer, Sorg and Schuh & Muehlig. Its entire cost has been about \$23,000 contributed all by the members of the church. The Reverend Max Hein, the pastor and the trustees of the church deserve credit for this addition to the fine church edifices of the place. The families connected with this body number 415, the persons about 1,500.

An English Lutheran church was organized in this city in April 1893, Rev. W. L. Tedrow, pastor. The membership is

now 70. The worship of this body of Christians was for a time in Newberry Hall; but is now in the new brick church 52 x 52 feet at the corner of William street and Fifth avenue. The demand for the founding of this church arises chiefly from the fact that numbers of people of German descent, firmly attached to the Augsburg confession, have so far lost their familiarity with the German language as to prefer the English in their religious services. Indeed, the formation of this body is likely to be followed by a more or less extensive movement in the same direction in this state, several other places having already followed the example set by Mr. Tedrow. The church edifice will cost about \$10,000 and will be as ornamental a work as that amount of money could well produce.

The Church of the Disciples had its origin in 1887, as an organized movement, in some religious services started under the lead of a few local members who met in the parlors of the Congregational church.

The erection of a church edifice was made possible by three several bequests left by a Mrs. Scott, of Detroit, to as many societies of this Christian denomination, these societies all agreeing to appropriate their bequests to the erection of a church in Ann Arbor. The state organization of the denomination raised funds to buy a lot on South University avenue at a cost of \$2,200: the amount of the bequests was \$16,000, with which amount the church was built. It was completed and dedicated four years ago, the eloquent Reverend Dr. Tyler, of New York, preaching on the occasion. The Rev. Mr. Young had previously been engaged as pastor.

Mr. Young has himself occupied most of his time in soliciting funds for the endowment of several Bible Chairs in this city, the incumbent of one of which has usually supplied his pulpit.

A German Methodist Episcopal church, with small but neat house of worship on Liberty street, is exerting a good religious influence within a small circle. Rev. C. Boecklin is the pastor. This was organized in 1847. It belongs to a conference distinct from that of the English speaking Methodist people, its members mostly in Ohio.

There are two churches of people of African descent in Ann Arbor. As bodies of worshipers these have both existed for about fifty years, but never until within the last four years can really be said to have had fixed places of assembly. The Baptist house was dedicated about four years ago. Its cost was about \$3,500. The lot was purchased by the people themselves, while they obtained help from other Christians of the city for the erection of the church edifice. The communicants number 53; the highest attendance is about 125, nearly the capacity of the house, the average 75. The African Methodist Episcopal church is much the same for numbers and attendance; but their house is not yet completed and about \$500 will still be required for its completion. These two churches are really doing a more creditable work for their people than the other churches of the city. There are scarcely 500 in all, men, women and children, in the city of African descent. The churches afford room for them all and sometimes have nearly all in attendance. The pastor of the Baptist church is Reverend Mr. Moore, of the Methodist, Reverend Mr. Collins.

## XXXIX. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCHES

The point of greatest moment in regard to any institution, be it ecclesiastical, scholastic or whatever else affecting civic life, is that of the moral force which it brings to bear upon the people, and this is the more difficult to estimate to the satisfaction of readers, in its application to churches especially, as few know ought of places quite destitute of these, with which to make comparisons. Savage and pagan life is distant and known to most of us only through literature. Places where church influence is feeble are common enough, as also places where it is strong, but has relatively strong counter attractions to hold its way against, all which complicate the difficulties of the estimate here proposed. Ann Arbor offers one of the best illustrations of what I mean by counter-attractions, and this has been so ever since the place was a village of two thousand people. Nor by counter-attractions, do I mean influences really adverse to sound religious teaching; I have reference rather to the indefinitely multiplied entertainments, be they lectures on scientific or social topics, social amusements, locally gotten up, or brought hither by some intinerant troupe. Some of these may be in themselves good, others at worst simply neutral and bad only as shutting out something better, while still others are positively bad, as generating a love for mere amusement and filling the mind with pictures which render sound religious teaching distasteful. Against these influences, which naturally rush to university towns, the ministry of this place has ever had to contend. How they



have acted and how well succeeded, may be briefly indicated.

There are three attitudes which the churches of a place, as represented by their ministry, may assume towards each other:

1. That of mutual hostility, illustrating itself in polemic discourses on points wherein they differ. In disruptive movements, like that which broke out so violently in the sixteenth century, religious polemics become inevitable and so are really natural and this state of polemic agitation will continue until the elements shall have become separately aggregated and organized according their affinities. So far it is necessary, and indeed wholesome. This state of things existed of course when our country was new, whether as a whole, or in its several sections. Settlers were then rushing in, their ecclesiastical preferences had either not been formed, or were unknown to others, and conflict was unavoidable.

2. The several churches of a place may without hostile feeling simply ignore each other in the prosecution of their religious work. This may occur even without intention and from causes which do not admit of easy control. We have in this city a note-worthy illustration. Our population has a large German element, originally separated from a majority of the community by the impassible gulf which lies between two peoples whose languages are foreign to each other. People seldom appreciate the formidableness of this obstacle to religious intercourse. A foreigner soon acquires such knowledge of the language of those around him as to understand and employ the current terms of the streets and the

shop and yet may receive no distinct impression from a plain sermon or even from a personal conversation on a religious topic, if this shall be carried on in any language other than that in which religious thought had been previously conveyed to him. This, without the aid of any hostile feeling, has proved an obstacle to religious co-operation between the Christian churches and pastors of the place and the fault, so far as it is a fault, belongs quite as much to the English speaking as to the German element. If a German family, knowing no English, has settled next to one which knows no German, attempts at social intercourse between the two prove very unsatisfactory, & of course are not continued, even if begun, and so the German speaking settlers have naturally restricted their social relations to their own people; and when they have become familiar with our language, we do not take measures to extend our social relations among them. To do this would in time lead to cordial co-operation in moral and religious enterprises in which these elements now stand apart.

A difference of views as to what constitutes a scripturally organized Christian church has led to what I have called an ignoring of each other by the various religious denominations. The Roman Catholics and Protestant Episcopalians do not of course acknowledge the other churches to be truly organized. But this has not, so far as I know, led to any religious polemics.

3. The remaining attitude indicated of the Christian denominations towards each other is that of cordial co-operation in the grand framework of religious truth. This

has been very remarkable in the history of Ann Arbor. Having settled in the place in 1844, and having been here most of the time since, I have never yet heard here a controversial sermon. When ministers have held forth the tenets in which they differ from others, they have generally done this without attacking those who held other views. Indeed, it seems quite absurd that any one who has a great truth to teach should give much time to teaching that something else is not true. If something is really proved to be true, then all that is contradictory to it is false and will fall if the truth is established.

To illustrate historically, I well remember a series of revival meetings held in the Presbyterian church in the winter, as I think, of 1845, attended indiscriminately by people of all religious affiliations. The converts of these meetings were distributed generally through the churches, some, as I remember very well, uniting with St. Andrew's church, whose members took no part in the meetings.

In the days of heated religious controversy the terms odium theologicum were invented to indicate this overheated zeal. The words could never have been properly used of pastors or people in this place. We could here more properly say odium medicum; for at one time so heated was the strife between the two schools of medicine as to threaten the disruption of the medical department of the University. When measures were taken to establish a school of homoeopathy in the institution, all the old professors wrote their resignations; the matter has not been fought out yet, and in the mean time the people are paying taxes to support rival

schools. So in general, Christians are growing into harmonious co-operation, while endless debates and irreconcilable differences are left to scientific conventions.

The Christian ministry in Ann Arbor have generally been able, and have worked well towards the solution of the difficult problem which the complex life of the place offers. It is to be hoped that they, in co-operation with their churches, will gradually bring about some such state of things as Mr. Stead has pictured under the name of the "civic church;" that is, that while the churches shall retain their present organic independence, they shall combine and organize as a moral force, drawing into this organization all those who are with them in the great moral questions and still do not identify themselves with any of the churches. Only by some such combination can those great moral movements, which are the common desire of all good citizens, be carried on successfully.

It is as well here as anywhere to observe that there was throughout the country a general distrust of higher educational institutions controlled by the state. Indeed, the acts of legislature & regents which I have already noted would seem to justify this feeling. It was shared by Professors & Regents. Some expressed freely their apprehensions. The late Professor Fasquelle, no longer ago than 1857, advised a friend who was about to purchase land east of the University campus, which he could have obtained for a small advance upon its value for farming purposes, not to buy there; for the institution, he said, could last but a few years. He averred that he accepted his professorship only with the hope of

holding it as long as he should need it, for he was already past middle life, & his friend accordingly bought west of the city & his property would now sell for little more than it cost him, while that which he had thought of buying would have returned him twenty fold upon his investment. Two deeply seated practical objections also existed among the people to the imagined university. It would, said the mass of the farmers & other laborers, produce & nourish a great aristocracy; while others, more advanced in methods of thinking, especially in religious & political questions, feared that professors would never be able to express themselves freely, but would always be hampered in their teaching by the popular will. All these things made the outlook dreary, & the competition in the work of higher learning between institutions supported by the states, & those endowed by our great millionaires & placed under some general religious control, is still likely to remain for a time unsettled.

#### XL. THE SECRET SOCIETY WAR IN THE UNIVERSITY

The history of the University has been touched upon but slightly in these sketches. The policy of congressional land-grants for education, a particular view of that to the territory of Michigan for a University, with an account of its administration and especially of the losses by reckless management, have been passed briefly in review, as also the early struggles in the work of instruction. Indeed, there is nothing in the course of development of an educational institution for history to lay hold of when it is moving quietly on in its work; except in periods of conflict each

day, or week, or month, or year, is like the next before or next after it. I shall, therefore, in addition to the accounts already given of original work, only sketch two or three of the conflicts through which the institution has passed, and

1. The Secret Society War. This conflict, occurring as it did, so near the opening of the college work, may justly be deemed one of the threatening struggles of the institution. I shall sketch it as briefly as can be intelligibly done. Before the central school at Ann Arbor was started, Professor Williams, of the Pontiac Branch, was instructed by the Board of Regents to prepare a code of laws for the institution soon to be opened. This code contained a provision in these words:- "No student shall be or become a member of any society connected with the University, or consisting of students, which has not first submitted its constitution to the faculty and received their approbation." Such law existed at the time in all the colleges of the country. It did not contemplate secret societies. The author of the above provision did not probably at the time know of the existence of such. It had reference to those organizations for literary purposes then known in all our colleges. Nor did the faculty of this period ever take any action against secret societies as such. It was a mere accident that the first conflict in the application of this law was brought on by the discovery that such societies existed in the University. The faculty was not even in pursuit of transgressors of the law. The two literary societies, the Alpha Nu and Phi Phi Alpha were in conflict and unable to settle the

points at issue, requested the faculty to act as arbitrators between them. It was when we sat on this dispute that we found our way obstructed by the refusal of certain students to testify, on the ground that they were pledged to secrecy. It was thus, while the faculty were voluntarily serving the students, not prosecuting them as culprits, that the existence of chapters of the affiliated secret societies in the University was discovered.

I will quite throw off the mask of impersonality and employ the first person singular, as also to some extent the personal names of others. I was myself the executive, or president of the faculty during this crisis. I wrote with the concurrence of the faculty to the presidents of the principal colleges of the country for information which might aid our decision. I have published in an appendix to my American State Universities the answers of six, all that I received, whether all to whom I wrote I cannot with certainty affirm, although I cannot doubt that I wrote to President Wayland, of Brown. The answers all have one ring; these men all encouraged us to act as we finally in effect did act, and they all seemed to us to imply that they had done the same thing, while President Carnahan, of Princeton, distinctly informed us that one of these societies had made its appearance at Princeton, but had been dissolved at the demand of the faculty and that none existed at the time of his writing. Our action was this; we required the members of these societies in the University to pledge themselves to receive no more into their chapters, while new students were required to pledge themselves not to join. Both readily acceded to what was required and we all thought and I think

now that they honestly intended to keep their pledges. But they found out something that we did not know; they ascertained that their societies had a thriving secret existence in colleges whose officers supposed they had extinguished them. One of the young men told me afterwards that he knew of their existence at Princeton, where President Carnahan was so confident that they had been exterminated.

Correspondence with their brothers in other institutions supplied our students with pretexts on which members were received just as if no pledges had been given. I shall state one of these only as an example. One of the societies claimed that by receiving two or three members who were not students in the University and by holding their meetings elsewhere than on the college grounds they had freed themselves from the demands of the law. Others had other evasions. It was in the month of December. The custom then existed of having public declamations by students on the last evening before the holiday vacation. The students were informed that those who did not intend to renounce their connection with the unauthorized societies need not return with the expectation of being permitted to pursue their studies in the University. There was an unquiet air about the exercises of the evening, these being at the Presbyterian church, and as they closed the disquiet took on storm violence. No class, or college, yells had then been devised and so each yelled his own tune and on his own key, and made that otherwise still December night one that will yet be remembered by many.

I was kept up that night by sickness in my family. It



was about midnight that a light suddenly flashed against a window of my house opening on the campus. I slipped out and went to where it started. An armful of pine shavings had been thrown into a temporary outhouse and set on fire. I easily put them out and returned home. But in the course of half an hour the flame was rekindled and in obedience to an earnest voice from the sick bed near which I sat, I kept my seat at a window, watched the flames rising in the temporary sheds of pine boards until every tree and shrub - for there were then on the campus only a few bur-oaks which had been left in the clearing - was visible and the light towards morning gradually died down as it had gradually risen.

The students mostly returned to their studies, their membership in the unauthorized societies renounced, doubtless with their own mental reservations; but there were a few, perhaps half a dozen, under the lead chiefly of one who had built himself a board shanty on the margin of the wood which now forms our beautiful cemetery, who had other thoughts. This shanty formed the headquarters of those of a certain tendency. They determined to carry the matter to the legislature. One William Finley, best remembered perhaps as the tallest man that ever lived in Ann Arbor, his stature being six feet seven inches, was elected to the senate. The Honorable George Sedgwick, one of the most prominent lawyers of Ann Arbor, the man who afterwards obtained for the city its charter and served as its first mayor, was our member in the house. Finley became the champion of the disaffected

students, and the earnest precipitation with which he set out in his work and the kind of measures employed wrought his defeat. I will here indicate his resources.

December 29th, 1849, Major Kearsley, chairman of the executive committee of the board, addressed a note to the faculty requesting a detailed statement of the occurrences which, had led to the faculty's action. A draft of this statement lay on the table of my study, which being for the time the executive room, was well known to the students and some one entered the room, we know not when, probably by night, and carried off this draft. In places where this was not bad enough to suit those who had it in possession, they employed a little delicate forgery to fit it to their purposes. It was published as a legislative document. In the mean time Senator Finley was getting up a revolutionary bill, to inaugurate a new start in the enterprize of higher education. He sought no information from the faculty of the University and I think never saw one of its members. He was equally oblivious of the board, except two members, who stood against seventeen others and one of the two deserted his colleague before the end of the campaign. Seventeen, I say, but only twelve of these were present at the special meeting; the remaining five would have voted with them had they been in attendance.

The meeting of the board referred to above was held in Detroit, January 10th, 1850. The purpose was to act upon the report which had been called for from the

faculty. Other action was taken besides that on the report; first was a motion that a statement of the aggrieved students be also published with the report. This motion obtained no second. These students had already carried their statement to the legislature & there seemed to be no reason for offering them an opportunity to make another. Then followed a motion that the rule under which the faculty had acted be suspended. The vote on this motion stood two yeas to twelve nays. Then followed a motion for a committee of seven to visit the University and obtain information. Chief Justice Whipple was head of this committee. The board was unanimous on the resolution and the appointment under it. The chairman and several of the committee visited the University, saw the faculty and also the aggrieved students, any statements from whom they offered to publish. The report fully sustained the faculty's action, although one of the two members - Judge Witherell - who voted for the suspension of the rule, was on the committee; he too, agreed to its report.

There was, indeed, a minority report, made however, not to weaken, but to strengthen that of the majority. It was by Mr. Redfield, and was in effect that he had originally been opposed to the rule, but now doubted the correctness of his former opinion on that point. And in regard to the action of the faculty, he thought they had "manifested great wisdom and prudence, as well as great kindness and forbearance towards the offending students."

The Regents did not send the faculty's report to Lansing, but returned it to me, and it remained in my hands for examination by the students, that they might make what statements they should choose to be sent with it to Lansing. Three several statements were made, one signed by seven young men who had been affected by the disciplinary action of the faculty and had returned to the University; one by five professing to act as a committee of the students, these both speaking in high terms of the personal characters of the professors; but claiming that no board had a right to enact a rule so abridging the natural rights of students, and that no faculty had a right to execute such a law. They admitted that this rule existed, though as but a dead letter, in all other institutions. They expressed themselves as strongly in favor of the Finley bill.

The third statement - all three were in the form of memorials addressed to the legislature - closed with these words:- "Your memorialists beg leave further to state that we believe that the measures which have been taken to influence your honorable body to take such action as is now contemplated, have been prompted by a vindictive spirit towards our faculty and the board of regents; that we believe if the matter were left to take its own course, without legislative interference, it will soon be amicably settled; that as the students, who have been conditionally expelled, are returning under the condition offered them by the faculty, we think that the only thing in the way of a speedy adjustment of the whole affair to the honor and satisfaction of all who are rightfully concerned, is the probability that now exists of legislative interference."

These italics belong to the original.

The papers referred to in this sketch were all published as legislative documents. A letter from Professor Whedon to Senator Webb also appeared as a legislative document. It answered a rumor that the number of students was diminishing, which rumor was not strictly true, though the number was for a time diminished by the absence of those who remained away in order to prove the truth of their report. And then there was a cause which should very naturally have had this effect; for the branches of the University had been suspended and no schools had as yet arisen to take their place in preparing young men for college.

The last papers sent on to Lansing did not diminish the bluster; I shall not follow it; but it gradually became artificial and strained, and in the spring, some weeks before the close of the session, a letter from Mr. Sedgwick to the president of the faculty informed us that Finley himself showed evident signs of being sick of his undertaking and that he would be glad of some pretext for its discontinuance. And this was the more satisfactory because all Mr. Sedgwick's earlier letters had been very desponding.

The trick of the so-called "original report" had much to do with the turn of the tide. Messrs. Webb and Sedgwick both wrote me that the matter of the "original report" was understood at the capitol. They doubtless thought so. But that original report, as it stands in the senate documents, is but a travesty of the one taken from my table. I had taken and laid away a copy before the original was stolen and my own original and my own copy I am sure varied but slightly.

## XLI. PRESIDENT TAPPAN

Henry P. Tappan entered upon duty as executive head of the University of Michigan in 1852, and retired in circumstances, which caused intense agitation, in 1863. Perhaps the time may well be deemed to have come when one who had no connection with the institution at the time, was without prejudice for or against the man, and yet was fully cognizant of all the fact, may calmly indicate his view of the merits of the issue between the President and the board.

Several facts combined to give the institution a new impulse about the time of Mr. Tappan's entrance upon his duties as president. The fact that the University now had a head was in itself something. The people knew nothing of him; but naturally and justly assumed that he was worthy of the place. He had written several books; but there were lying unread and unknown on booksellers' shelves until his election to his new position called attention to them and the public judgment of them was on the whole favorable. He had a magnificent presence and address, which together made a much stronger impression than his books, or any account of him from abroad. It was, indeed, known that he had been obliged to retire from his professorship in the University of New York City; but the merits of the case were not known in Michigan and the impression of his presence prevailed over all rumors from the east.

The want of preparatory schools caused by the suspension of the branches had now been met by the rise of high schools, so that there was a new supply of candidates for matriculation in the University. This increased the attendance of students.

But a still more important fact than either of the above mentioned was that the large sales of University lands, which began to be made soon after President Tappan's entrance upon duty, so increased the income of the institution, as to open a new prospect before it. New professorships were added. Better pay was offered. Although Dr. Tappan had nothing whatever to do with the improved condition of the fund, it could not but be that he shared largely the credit of it. His appearance in the principal towns of the state made him immensely popular. At just what time other views in regard to him began to be quietly hinted, it would not be worthwhile to notice, even if this could be distinctly known. But one fact, which was perhaps as influential upon the final action of the board as any other, belongs to the year 1858. In the hazing of that year a young man named Brazie lost his life under circumstances of peculiar aggravation. Whiskey was poured down his throat until he was found to be past recovery and died in a few hours. Before adverting to any influence which this may have had upon the action in regard to President Tappan, it may be well to state what readers will perhaps be interested to know, that the two young men responsible for the death of young Brazie fled to parts unknown; one of them fell in the second day's fight at Gettysburg, where he commanded a brigade, having at the time of his death the brevet rank of a brigadier general. Nearly five years after the fatal hazing, I visited the parents of the other young man, for our families were intimate friends, and found that they knew nothing of their son's whereabouts, but supposed that he had enlisted in the army and been killed.

I have learned recently that he went to the far west among the native tribes and is still living there with an Indian wife.

As to the effect upon President Tappan, some young men deemed it the time to set on foot a movement in the temperance cause, which they thought would be useless unless they should first obtain the name of the President; he refused, however, always kept wines upon his table, and they abandoned their undertaking. But Mr. Tappan was still exceedingly kind and paternal towards these students, and did not feel at all insulted at their application for his support in their temperance work.

Other things were with numbers of the Regents and professors of even more weight than what they deemed the injurious influence of the President's position on the temperance question. I shall attempt no details. The statement of a characteristic trait will suffice, and perhaps this will even be deemed a good trait, only somewhat exaggerated. I refer to that already mentioned as shown in his paternal bearing towards the students. This was assumed also towards both professors and Regents, both of which classes naturally thought that his treatment of them should have had in it a fraternal element. For the same reason he was never popular with the members of the legislature and never succeeded in obtaining state appropriations. So it turned out that the very majesty of aspect and demeanor which inspired others with a pleasing awe, was offensive to Regents and professors, over whom he deemed himself to have some authority. This trait affected him also in his ecclesiastical relations, so that he finally attended generally the



Baptist and Episcopal churches instead of the Presbyterian to which he belonged.

The same trait, whatever may be thought of some of its workings, had this benign effect that Dr. Tappan never did anything in an underhand way. He was, indeed, incapable of this. I can now remember of but one professor's having been removed during his presidency and that was on well-known and distinctly stated grounds. Not having been here earlier, I make this statement only as the conviction formed from what I heard during the last six months of President Tappan's administration. He had not the finesse to make a politician, or a diplomatist. His paternal feelings led him to keep men and adjust them to his purposes, rather than dismiss them; and this was one reason why they were not afraid of him. They knew that they should not wake up some morning and find themselves without employment.

How so many men could work under ground so long and their mining operations not be detected, is a mystery; but the whole board of Regents and almost the whole of the three University faculties did so work. The commencement of 1863, passed quietly over without a suspicion on the part of the President. In the mean time the board had done its work; they had made three places, those of the President, the Professor of Rhetoric and the Librarian, vacant, and filled them; but the next morning they presented to Dr. Tappan, the alternative of resigning and not having their action in regard him made public, or to be removed. He refused the resolution and he was informed of the alternative resolution, passed the night before to remove him.

Dr. Tappan died in dignified retirement in Vevoy, Canton De Vaud, Switzerland, November 15th 1881. A memorial meeting to commemorate his services & worth was held in Ann Arbor on the receipt of the news of his death & the class of 1858, at their quarter centennial reunion in 1884, expressed their affectionate memory of their beloved President, then "sleeping," as they expressed themselves, "in the most beautiful spot in Europe."

It was doubtless thought by the board that the tumult which would naturally follow this action would subside before the opening of the fall term after the long vacation. We shall see in our next whether this fond dream was realized.

#### XLII. THE ISSUE OF THE REMOVAL AGITATION

The tumult raised by President Tappan's removal, instead of dying down during the summer vacation of 1863, had been given just time enough to rise to its highest pitch by the opening of scholastic work in September. But such was the situation that nothing could be done to give practical effect to the dissatisfaction felt at the late president's removal, because the board which removed him was to remain in power until the first of January following, and could not be expected to retreat from their own unanimous action. But the new law, which was to become operative on the first of January, 1864, was deemed especially favorable to the wishes of those who desired to reverse the action. In the first place, the old board was to go out all at once, and a new one to come in all at once. Then the new law in its eighth section provides that "the regents of the University shall, at their first annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as may be, elect a President of the University, who

shall be ex-officio a member of the board, with the privilege of speaking, but not of voting. He shall preside at the meetings of the regents and shall be the principal executive officer of the University."

This law seemed to make it not only the right, but also the duty of the board of 1864 to elect a president, and equally so whether the president up to that time had been Dr. Tappan or Dr. Haven. It was claimed that by this enactment the term of the president would expire with the entrance of the new board upon its term of service. Whether the provision might have resulted from an oversight of the legislators, or was designed in order to render it easy for the new board to make a change in the presidency, it would be fruitless to inquire; but whether it was accidental or designed, it was taken advantage of by a somewhat formidable array of prominent men, chiefly in Detroit, to represent themselves at the first meeting of the new board, and urge the re-election of Dr. Tappan to the presidency.

On the other hand Dr. Haven had been for three months at the head of the institution and had made a favorable impression. He had formerly been of the faculty and was well-known. He had resigned his professorship and quietly retired from an uncomfortable position, rather than enlist in the warfare which he foresaw. Further, although it is probable that the members of the new board would personally have favored Dr. Tappan, yet they perceived that, strong as was the pressure upon them for his restoration, it came from a small number of persons, and they could not but fear that there might be a much greater force of unexpressed feeling on the other side, and as they had not been responsible for

the action taken, they feared to make themselves so for its reversal. Then there was danger that the restoration of President Tappan would involve the removal of all the professors but four, three of whom were least important of all to the working of the institution. With the action of the board retaining Dr. Haven, the feeling on this matter died away and was only momentarily revived at the commencement of 1864, by action which was out of taste and quite unnecessary. The board arranged that one of the retired regents, who was quite as much as any other responsible for the dismissal of President Tappan, should state the grounds of the action of the late board in an address on commencement day. This was greeted by frequent, if it were not better to say, incessant hisses, which were probably designed rather to declare that the address was unnecessary and out of place than that any of its statements were untrue.

Dr. Haven made a very popular president. He was as fair and impartial as one well could be. To refer to the matter of removals of professors, I remember now but two that occurred during his administration, and the persons affected would have been the last to object to the action, or its grounds. Both were glad to retire and have the reasons which called for their withdrawal remain unknown to the public. After President Haven's resignation he was recalled by a unanimous vote of the board, but could not well retire from a position he had already taken.

President Haven was a man in whom were well combined the elements of sound policy with justice & kindness to all concerned. He never lost sight of the morals of students as

an object to be sought. In a movement in the cause of temperance he promptly acted with others & allowed his name to be prominent in the reforming work. His example was widely influential in this direction. He died at Salem, Oregon, August 2d, 1881, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church.

On the receipt of intelligence of Dr. Haven's death, a meeting of the University Senate was called at the President's room, appropriate resolutions were passed & arrangements were made for a memorial address in the Hall of the University. This is a somewhat extended biography & will be found in volume VI of the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society.

#### XLIV. THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

The first distinct movement towards the establishment of the Medical Department of the University took the shape of a memorial addressed to the board by Professors Sager & Douglass, together with some other medical men, & was presented at the January meeting of 1847. This was referred to a committee which reported at the same meeting, recommending the opening of such a department with three professors; that is, the two medical men already in the department of Arts & Sciences were to be assigned duties in the School of Medicine & Surgery, & one additional professor was to be appointed. But at the meeting of August following a committee was raised to report at a future day upon the expediency of organizing the departments of Medicine & Law. This was in effect a reconsideration of the former action. The committee consisted of Messrs. Pitcher, Farnsworth & Mundy, a leading physician of Detroit, the Chancellor of the

State, & one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. This committee made an elaborate report at the meeting of January 1848, recommending immediate action in regard to the Medical, but further delay in regard to the Law School.

Instead of the usual method of teaching by lectures this committee advised that textbooks be prescribed & the students be required to bear daily examinations upon the portions which should be assigned for their study, which method was not, however, to be applied in the branches of chemistry and anatomy. The committee expressed the opinion that a single professor in this way, the sessions extending through the year, could more successfully teach practical medicine, surgery & obstetrics, than these subjects could be taught by the prelections of a more numerous faculty in the brief sessions then customary in Medical colleges. The report enlarged upon the confessedly low condition of the profession in the West; mentioned the fact that something like one hundred young men from Michigan were at the time pursuing medical studies in other states; suggested the assignment of places in the Medical Department to the Professors of Zoology, Botany & Chemistry, & the appointment of a single new professor for Anatomy, urging also that the course be extended throughout the entire year. The opinion was also expressed that the plan recommended would place the Medical School upon a respectable foundation.

The committee urged also a higher standard of preparatory study than had previously been prescribed, & also discussed the question of location, claiming that the terms of the contract which the state had made with Ann Arbor fixing the site of the University required that the Medical School should

be here, & it would, indeed, seem the highest legal authority of the state being represented on the committee, that this opinion ought to have put the question of a different location forever at rest.

The action of the board was in substantial accordance with the recommendation of its committee, & the work of erecting the needed buildings, involving an expenditure of \$14,000 to \$15,000, was vigorously prosecuted. The opening of the school was also anticipated by the election of several professors; viz: Drs. Moses Gunn, July 1849, to the chair of Anatomy & Surgery, J. Adams<sup>Allen</sup>, January 1850, to that of Pathology & physiology, & at the same time Samuel Denton, to that of Theory & Practice. Dr. Sager was made professor of Obstetrics, & Dr. Douglass of Materia Medica, in addition to the places already held by these two men in the Department of the Arts & Sciences. The Medical School, thus provided for, opened with a fair show of students in the autumn of 1850.

Notwithstanding the recommendations of the committee & their approval by the board, the work of instruction was not carried on in accordance with them. The plan was deemed too great a digression from the practice of the time. The lecture system was retained. The yearly sessions, instead of continuing through the entire year, began in October & closed in March. The students were required, in order to obtain their diplomas to attend two courses, or, more properly, to attend the same course twice, as there was no distinction between the lectures for juniors & those for seniors. To the one class the lectures were an advance, to the other a review.

On the first of January 1858 an entire new Board of Regents came into power. In their first year they entered upon measures for the establishment of the Law School. Their first plan was to have a single professor whose whole time should be given to the scholastic work. Instead, however, of carrying this early thought into execution, three professors were appointed. These were James V. Campbell, Charles I. Walker & Thomas M. Cooley. With this faculty the school opened on the first of October 1859, on which occasion Judge Campbell delivered an address setting forth the lawyer's need of a large culture beyond that to be acquired from the technical books of his profession. Existing accommodations had to be used for a time; but a suitable building was hastened to completion & the School has since moved onwards causing very little ripple in its progress.

Even before the Law School was opened, the School of Medicine was beginning to be involved in an agitation destined to cause much trouble before it should be finally allayed. Professor Gunn had removed to Detroit & entered there the field of medical practice. He had also started a periodical named the Medical Independent, of which he was editor. He was quite determined that the Medical Department of the University should be removed to Detroit. His advocacy of the measure, both in his journal & otherwise, was so heated that action was taken upon the matter by the Regents, somewhat severely censuring the agitators for removal & especially Professor Gunn. The report upon which the action was founded consisted chiefly of a view of the losses & expenses which would be incurred by the removal. The erection



of new buildings, the entire support of the chemical laboratory, which in Ann Arbor was shared with the Department of Arts & Sciences & the probable forfeiture of the forty acres of land given by a company in Ann Arbor as a site for the University. The report might also have added the action of 1849, relating to the branches of the University, which action assumed that the congressional land-grant for a university required that it should be a single institution in one place.

This action settled the removal question for the time, at least so far as the existing school<sup>was concerned</sup>; but more tormenting questions, involving division in another form sprang quickly up. I mention first the claim that there should be a Homeopathic School of Medicine as part of the University. The proposal that this be located in Detroit involved again the question of removal though in a somewhat modified form. Here was set on foot the bitterest agitation that ever attended the development of medical teaching in the University, which is yet as unsettled as ever. I shall cluster the events in the briefest possible way & without care as to their exact order.

Professor Gunn resigned to accept a place in the Rush Medical College in Chicago. In connection with this reference to his leaving I introduce an episode, not with any thought of interpreting it to the disadvantage of the professor, but because it involves a question the mention of which has awakened an undertone of murmur throughout all the neighboring counties, if not throughout the state; I refer to the obtaining of subjects for dissection. The professor caused to be shipped for Chicago the bodies then on hand with

reference to the opening of the coming year's work, said to have been about forty in number. The janitor of the Medical college, was found locked up in a room bound & muffled to prevent his raising an alarm. The Regents, on learning the facts, were assembled; the professor claimed that they would not dare proceed against him, because this would reveal the measures by which they obtained their subjects. They replied that they had justified the use of no illegal means for obtaining subjects & that if the demonstrator of anatomy had employed such they could not be held responsible; but the result of the inquisition was never made public, except as it passed from mouth to mouth. Provision is now legally made for the supply of subjects, so that there is no occasion for nightly invasions of cemeteries & the murmurs of surrounding communities have died away.

An extreme of agitation in this school was reached when the establishment of a Homeopathic branch in connection with the University became a substantial certainty. The professors in the existing School of Medicine & Surgery were at least supposed all to have written their resignations, though some of these were not delivered to the Board. Finally all was quieted & the rival school was established with such provision that the two should be in so far independent of each other, that neither would be required to subscribe its approval of the other's system.

The question of removal was destined to come up in still another form. A Medical School was started in Detroit by physicians resident there & several professors of the University were elected to places in it, which places were accepted by some. The Regents merely informed these that they would

have to choose between the two schools, the real meaning of which action seems to have been to inform these men that they could not be permitted to retain their places in the school at Ann Arbor, while laboring in Detroit in the interests of an institution designed gradually to undermine it.

The Schools of Pharmacy & Dental Surgery, though quite separate from the Schools of Medicine, are, nevertheless, allied branches of the same range of studies. These schools have arisen & moved on with little friction & I shall not give any separate account of them. Several of the professors lecture in common to some medical class & to classes in one of these kindred schools.

#### XLV. A COLLEGE ANABASIS

In my sketches have been introduced some specimens of students' freaks & jokes, & others may still be brought in, but instead of multiplying these I prefer to give account of one of greater dignity & magnificence, to serve in place of many lesser adventures which might be set forth. In order to prepare myself for this I called on the Honorable Thomas W. Palmer at his residence in Detroit on the last day of the year 1894 & spent most of the day with other guests at his residence; but Mr. Palmer, having no leisure that time to give me the desired information, promised to put this in writing. I shall give the account chiefly in his own words as follows:-

"Dear Sir:- You ask me for the reminiscences of my Spanish trip of 1848. It came about thus:"The party was composed of Stephen Tilson, Senior, from Ohio, James B. Witherell, Junior, of Detroit, Cleveland Whiting, Junior, son of Pro-

fessor Whiting, of Ann Arbor, George Kellogg, Junior, of Ann Arbor, David James, Senior, of Swansea, Wales, & myself. The boys had been reading Kidder's Brazil, which spoke in glowing terms of that country & its possibilities, had brought Tilson, the oldest of the party to their way of thinking and he made it a condition of his going that I should go also. I had left college on account of my eyes & a delegation came to see me. Tilson was the only one who had much money. After the party was made up, James & Witherell began to take lessons in daguerreotyping. We all rendezvoused in New York, where we remained a month and a half. Those of us who had parents had extorted their reluctant consent to the plan."

"After we had come together in New York, we went along the docks &, among the other vessels and found the bark 'Potomac' of 200 tons burden. She had a cabin of four state-rooms, so with the Captain we made up her complement of passengers. We made a bargain with the captain for so much money & so much in notes for our trip to Rio Janeiro, via Cadiz in Spain. We sailed on the 25th day of November 1848, & arrived on Christmas morning in Cadiz. The ship took out a cargo of staves, which she unloaded at Cadiz & reloaded with salt."

"We stayed at the hotel Des Anglais on the Alemande, which overlooked the sea, & after various trips on the strip of land on which Cadiz is built, we took a steamer to Ste. Maria & from there over to Keres, the scene of the decisive battle between the Moors & Goths more than eleven hundred years ago. The Duke de Montpensier & the Infanta, then just married, were there to attend a bull-fight, which we

also attended. Although we were at first horrified at the disemboweling of horses, the enthusiasm of the crowd was so great that before the performance was half over, we were hurraing as loudly & as fiercely as any of the audience. Often when I look back to those times I feel ashamed of myself."

"From Xeres, which is on the river Gaudalete, we went over to the Gandelquivir & traveled along its banks on foot to Seville. Often we saw white crosses on the road, some of these marking places where murders had been committed, while others were used as shrines. When I was in Spain as American Minister, I looked often for these crosses, but found none there, & soon learned that there were less murders while I was in Spain, with its sixteen millions of people than in Michigan with its two millions."

"At Cadiz our sloop of war, the 'United State,' called the 'Old Hay Wagon,' was anchored, her officers were on shore much of the time & we soon became acquainted with them."

"We remained in Cadiz & the surrounding country for two months, when Tilson, Whiting, Kellogg & myself went on board the Potomac & sailed for Rio. Forty-one years afterwards I entered Cadiz about the same time in the morning of Christmas day. Then as before there were six in our party, but only myself of the original six. Whiting had died in California. Witherell, who entered the army at the breaking out of the war, was surrendered with his command in Texas & was drowned in the Rio Grande while coming north. Tilson had died about six years before, in Iowa, and James died in Kansas City."

"After leaving Cadiz we ran down towards the Canary Islands & sailed forty-five days without trimming a yard, in the same trade-winds which, three hundred & fifty years before had blown Cabrol over to the coast of Brazil. No one can appreciate the significance of the phrase 'Halcion days' unless he takes such a trip in the trades. The never-varying wind, the ship going at long gallop, the flying fish in schools, flying out of the water ahead & on either side, while one could sleep out on the deck without a covering, incurring no peril to health - these things left an impression on my mind which has not been obliterated."

"We sailed into the harbor of Rio & in due time went ashore & called upon the American Minister, Honorable David Todd of Ohio. The Honorable Gorham Parks was then Consul at Rio. Witherell & James had remained in Spain, secured a Daguerrean outfit & were making a tour in Granada & Andalusia."

"When we arrived at Rio we were out of money, but had not the slightest fear for the future. I went to Mr. Todd & told him our situation & he let me have money on my note, which was not presented for payment until I had been for several years in business in Detroit. Mr. Todd was a whole souled genial man &, although our trip, with its attending circumstances, struck him very ludicrously, he remained our steadfast friend."

I became acquainted with Captain Frazer, of one of our Revenue Cutters, the name of which I have forgotten, which was about to sail for San Francisco, &, as I desired, was invited to take a trip with him around the Horn, but a few days before he was to sail, he received orders from Washington

to sail in another direction."

"We spent a couple of months in Rio, Boto Fago & Piedade, then began to look out for methods of getting home. George Kellogg became Clerk to Captain Davis, of the American Navy, Whiting returned on the Potomac, while I, on invitation, came home on another vessel. We all arrived at different ports."

"I landed at New Orleans, after a voyage of forty-five days, & found the town being ravaged with the Cholera. I stayed there a few days, met an old acquaintance of whom I borrowed some money. I thought if I should stay south, I might get a chance to teach school."

"While riding on horseback one day I passed a figure which looked quite familiar to me. As I turned, I found the person to be Eno Freeman, a graduate of Ann Arbor. The family with which he was stopping had left the city, intending to remain away until the cholera should have abated, & had left him in charge of the house. He invited me to stay which invitation I accepted, & remained with him for a couple of months."

"The cholera was still raging, not only in New Orleans, but all along the river, & Freeman concluded that he would like to go back to Michigan. We got on board a steamer bound for St. Louis, arriving at which place we found people dying at the rate of two hundred a day. We went up the Illinois river to Peru, there took the canal, & before we got to Ottawa, Freeman was taken down with the cholera. I took him ashore & was his only attendant until he recovered. When he was in a condition to be removed, we came on the Detroit without further incident. I did not see Freeman again for thirty-five years. He is now, I believe teaching school

in St. Clair County."

"There are a thousand minor incidents connected with this trip which I might give had I the faculty of making such description attractive."

"I arrived home about nine months after I had left it, having crossed the Ocean twice & the equator twice & sailed from Rio to New Orleans. Soon after I reached home, James & Witherell made their appearance, & we long thereafter met every year in Detroit, all save Kellogg, whom I never again saw but once or twice."

I had expected to learn from Mr. Palmer only some features & incidents of this novel expedition & work them up in my own way; but his words as above answer my purpose better. The statement should perhaps be corrected which he makes on hearsay testimony, that his friend Freeman, who so kindly took him in at New Orleans, & whom he so kindly nursed through a siege of cholera, is teaching school in St. Clair county. Information here places Mr. Freeman in the lumber trade in Port Huron. Though it has no importance to the purpose of this sketch, it may be further added that the foregoing letter does not assign to all the several members of the expedition the college classes in which Mr. Palmer has ranked them.

There was no occasion for the apology made in the foregoing letter that numerous minor incidents were left out for want of a descriptive power to give attractiveness to the narration. The account is just what could have been desired. It places side by side the then & the now of life in some interesting particulars. No reader will be at loss to supply the incidents which must have filled up the time of the six



adventurers in their joint & individual life during the many months of this unique expedition. All the ages from the opening of the Christian era down taken together had not witnessed so great a quickening of the world's intercourse as the half century - for it is now nearly that - since this adventure was planned. And as to interior aspect, this in some portions of the world has not been less Mr. Palmer's looking in vain forty-one years later for the white crosses which he had seen in the foot trip on the Guadalquivir, marking the places of murders, well exemplifies a class of these internal metamorphoses. The change westward of the Alleghanies in our country has been a complete transformation, not, indeed, in the characters of the people, but in superficial aspect. What were then the superfluities are now the necessities of life.

But the freakish adventure described above may be regarded as a kind of foretokening symbol of the cosmopolitan character of the institution in which the plan had its origin. The scheme was generally ascribed to the active brain of a student from the British principality of Wales. It was gotten up in what was at the time the Great West of our new country; & yet it was destined to traverse by the old methods of navigation which had prevailed with slight modifications since long before the Christian era, the oceans which lave the shores of the earth's two hemispheres, thus preindicating the time when the school in which the plan had its inception should receive from all lands its pupils, & send to all lands its graduates.

Every reader may speculate for himself as to the effect

which this adventure may have had upon the future of Mr. Palmer. His friends set down to him the credit which he himself repudiates of having so learned their language that he was able to address in it a deputation of Spaniards who once visited Detroit. His own modest account of the matter is that he wrote the address, had it translated into Spanish, obtained some aid in regard to pronunciation & thus rather cheaply obtained the credit of being able to speak the language of Spain. Nor does he know that this history had ought to do with his being sent by President Harrison as Minister to Spain. We may all think as our several fancies shall lead us to do with reference to a connection between the adventure described in the foregoing paragraphs & any portion of his subsequent career. His presidency of the Columbian Exposition might naturally be deemed a kind of culmination of the series begun in 1848. Each reader may think as he shall feel inclined.

One of the young men of the party, James B. Witherell, was Mr. Palmer's cousin, a son of his mother's brother. And here I venture to correct the statement that he was Junior; Witherell had graduated, A.B., at the last commencement before the party sailed. This family has been prominent in the history of Detroit & Michigan. Mr. Palmer & his cousin Witherell's grandfather, James Witherell, was in the Revolutionary army, studied medicine & settled in its practice in Vermont, was sent to congress in 1807, voted in 1808 for the suppression of the slave trade, was sent the same year by Mr. Jefferson to Michigan as one of the Territorial judges & was afterwards Secretary of the Territory (Notices of this family will be found dispersed through volumes I, II, III, IV, V, VIII, X, XII, XIII, XVII & XVIII of the Michigan Pioneer & Historical Collections. One of young Witherell's notices will be found in Volume IV., p. 110.

## XLVI. HISTORIC RELATION OF RELIGION TO THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY

In order to know well the relation of the University of Michigan to that religious system in which all good schools have had their origin, we must carry our inquiries quite back of the organic law which went into operation in 1837. We perceive by the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory that up to that date the Christian Religion & education were deemed inseparable. The Ordinance in its best features was the work of Manassah Cutler, a Christian pastor in Massachusetts, & it was his influence alone that secured its enactment by congress. (N.A. Rev. vol. CXXII., p. 229)

But a revolution had been gradually progressing during the half century which separated the congressional action mentioned above from the first legislation of Michigan & the organic law of the university of this state cannot be understood without a historic survey of this revolutionary progress, which, so far as Michigan is concerned, connects itself chiefly with events in Virginia. The Church of England had extended her sway over this colony & its ecclesiastical affairs were subject to an English bishop. Religious dissent had been made penal & death had been fixed as the penalty of persistence in it, though this seems never to have been inflicted.

But the people had long been growing restive under the pressure of stringent uniformity laws & in 1763 a verdict obtained by the eloquence of Patrick Henry in a suit of the clergy against the people gave the courage of action to those who cherished a spirit of resistance to the existing laws.

The speech of the young lawyer on this occasion remained for a generation at least, in the popular mind, the climax of oratorical triumph. The pictures drawn by Wirt & others may, indeed, be too highly colored, which Professor Tyler seems to himself in his recent Life of Henry to have made out; but there are several facts which must be deemed damaging to his conclusion. In the first place the Professor bases his judgment solely upon the testimony of Mr. Maury, the defeated plaintiff in the suit. And then it cannot be supposed that an argument without merit could have secured a verdict of which the ablest counsel had till then failed.

A later effort of Mr. Henry in the cause of an advance in religious freedom was, indeed, a display of eloquence without argument, unless we may regard a resistless appeal, setting out from a self-evident proposition, as the climax of true argumentative power. I refer here to the arraignment in 1768 of three Baptist preachers, named respectively Walter, Craig & Childs for preaching the Gospel contrary to law. A promise not to preach again for a year & a day would have set them free; but this they refused to make, & as they were led through the streets of Fredericksburg to their prison lodgings, they struck up the hymn of Watts opening with the line:-

"Broad is the road that leads to death"-

which offered just the scene to move a crowd not well affected towards the clergy who had caused the arrest. Mr. Henry rode about fifty miles in order to be present at this trial as a spectator, or, at least, without having been engaged for the defense. He was silent while the indictment was read &

the prosecution was opening the case, & then rising, addressed the court:- 'May it please your worships, what did I hear read? Did I hear rightly, or was it a mistake of my own? Did I hear it expressed that these men whom your worships are about to try for a misdemeanor are charged with....preaching the Gospel of the Son of God? The usual account says that he called for the indictment & waved it around his head, while intonating as he only could do these startling words, that the public prosecutor turned pale & the court discharged the prisoners. (This account as to details may not be exact, as it is doubtless a tradition first reduced to writing years after the occurrence. There is, however, no reason to doubt its general accuracy. Mr. Henry certainly successfully defended these men & others & in one instance, unbeknown to the prisoner, paid the jail expenses of a minister whose release he had effected. Life, Speeches, etc. Vol. I, pp. 117-119)

The results of these trials did not, however, disturb the relation of Church & state. The law of uniformity stood untouched & we do not know that Mr. Henry made any attack upon it. He was an earnest member of the established Church; but, whether he had meant to do so or not, he had made the further complete execution of the law impossible. Another movement was now in order - the repeal of the law itself - & in this Thomas Jefferson took the lead.

As Mr. Jefferson himself was not quite sure how he stood religiously, no one can now determine his exact position, though in his Syllabus (Works, vol.Iv.480, see also VII. 61-2 & 185 + 2d. Vol.VI. 210)

perhaps the best statement of it, he ranks the teaching of Jesus above all other systems & speaks in depreciating terms of Plato. He attributed to Jesus a moral system, "which, if filled up in the style & spirit of the rich fragments left us, would be the most perfect & sublime that has ever been taught by man." In a letter to Mr. Canby in 1813 he says:- "Of all the systems of morality, ancient or modern, which have come under my observation, none appear to me so pure as that of Jesus. In all essential points you & I are of the same religion." In a letter of 1815 to Charles Clas he says:- "Probably you have heard me say I had taken the four Evangelists, had cut out from them every text they had recorded of the moral precepts of Jesus & arranged them in a certain order, & although they appeared but as fragments, yet fragments of the most sublime edifice of morality which had ever been exhibited to man." (Works, VI. 412.) In 1821 he writes to Mr. Pickering:- "I have little doubt that the whole of our country will soon be rallied to the unity of the Creator, & I hope, to the pure doctrine of Jesus also." (Id. VII. 211) In a letter of 1822 to Dr. Waterhouse, Mr. Jefferson gives an outline of his religious system which clearly identifies him with the more serious of the Unitarians. (Id. 252-3)

Mr. Jefferson was a man of violent antipathies, to which he sometimes gives extravagant utterance, & this may have led some to attribute to him views which he never uttered. I shall cite nothing of this kind, but shall proceed to notice the legislative work of disestablishment in Virginia, & the subsequent establishment of the university of that state without provision for instruction in religion; for it

was this that determined the first legislation for the university of Michigan, so far as its religious tenor is concerned.

In the Autumn after Mr. Jefferson had drafted the Declaration of Independence, he was placed on the standing committee of nineteen on religion in the Virginia House of Delegates & headed a determined minority movement for the entire freedom of religious worship. The original penal laws against dissent were then still unrepealed & yet the people were more than half in some sense dissenters, though the majority in the legislature were churchmen. Dissenters could not legally settle in the colony & were to be sent away if they entered it & for the third offence the penalty was death. Petitions were flowing in for the relief of the dissenting people. The matter was discussed in committee of the whole house & such was the success achieved from October 11th to December 5th that the statute making dissent, non-attendance at church & free utterance of opinion penal offences, was repealed. Dissenters were also exempted from the payment of tithes to the established church & all church levies were suspended.

In 1777 a committee of five was appointed to revise the laws. Mr. Jefferson was on this committee & drew up a bill for religious enfranchisement. Measures were successively taken to which I shall not refer & in 1779 church rates were abolished against a strong opposition, Washington declaring that 'he was not alarmed at the thought of making people pay for the support of that which they profess to believe.' It was not, however, till 1799 that all laws made for the benefit of religious societies were repealed & not till 1802

that the glebes of the clergy were sold by the overseers of the poor, which last step went further than Jefferson had contemplated & was probably moved by others. (See Randall's Life of Jefferson Vol. I, 203-5 & 219-23 also Jefferson's Notes on Virginia)

What may have been the effect of the legislation of Virginia sketched above in other parts of the country I do not know so well; but in New York, Michigan & I think in the Northwest generally it was greeted with an extravagant applause, attended by many an utterance at variance with sound reason & a strict sense of justice. Many serious religious people doubtless rejoiced on the sale at auction of the glebes of the now disestablished church & at seeing the Virginia planter take his morning dram from the chalice which he had bought at the sale of the church furniture. Accounts of what had been done in Virginia were carried by traveling ministers, & in the correspondence of ecclesiastical bodies & became the great topic of the fireside, at least in those parts of New York & Pennsylvania which contributed so largely to the settlement of the further west. And in relation to this subject Jefferson's name was above every other. The opinion that an infidel - & Jefferson was widely regarded as such - makes the best leader in legislative & administrative matters, because, having no religion of his own, he will consent to no religious establishment, is the one of all others which in the days of my boyhood made from frequent and passionate utterance the strongest & most lasting impression upon my mind.

It was before the immense applause called forth by the Virginia legislation sketched above had died away that



Michigan became a state & a few months before her actual statehood she had enacted the organic law of the University. I have not ventured to affirm that this applause was as great everywhere as in the parts known to me & yet I think it was & it was even echoed from Europe. Accounts of the action were translated into French & Italian & sent to the European courts, where prominent men gave it their warm approval. (See Jefferson's Works Vol. II. 66-7) I have used the word immense in connection with this expression of approval; but the word intense ought to be added to complete the description. And the impression existed long & largely exists yet without any adequate correction of the injustice & errors to which it gave occasion. The bill of 1778 specially provided for saving forever to the English church which had been established by law its glebes and all its church property & furniture & all donations specially made to it; it was the later legislation, enacted when Mr. Jefferson was in Europe, which swept all this away, & alienated this property from those who should have been deemed its rightful owners.

From the time that Mr. Jefferson was sent abroad on diplomatic service to the end of his double term in the presidency of the United States he had nothing directly to do with Virginia legislation. But retiring in 1809 from the chief magistracy of the nation, with powers & ambition unabated, he returned to the subject of school legislation which had most possessed his mind before its absorption in the duties of his several executive positions in connection with the general government. I shall touch only upon his

activity as directed to the establishment of a university & this only so far as shall be necessary in order to show how the University of Virginia came to be left without provision for any instruction in religion.

Perhaps the most perplexing problem ever presented to our state & national governments for solution is that of determining the exact relation in which they stand to religion, when the connection with a particular church has been dissolved. In the intense feeling of relief & sense of satisfaction felt at the disestablishment in Virginia the popular voice declared that the state has nothing to do with religion & reflection was slow in leading to any clear discrimination between the grand system of Christianity, with its spirit & life, & those varying forms & features which this has taken on. No one solved the problem; at least no other solution appeared than that which left the state without anything to do with religion, from which it followed, of course, that this could not by the authority of the state be taught in the schools.

That Mr. Jefferson himself felt embarrassed in his efforts to found a university in Virginia by the question of its relation to Christianity is quite clear. Several plans were thought of before the one which finally prevailed. It was proposed to import the university of Geneva bodily as appears by a correspondence of M. D'Ivernois of that institution & Mr. Jefferson in 1794. (Jefferson's Works IV. 109 & 113.) This was not favored by those to whom the offer was made known, the objections being that it would be expensive, that American youth would not readily adapt

themselves to the use of the French language, & that its instructions would be in advance of the stage of preparation as yet attained to in America. Had this plan been adopted so much of religious & theological instruction as was then given in this institution would have been continued after the removal. Another plan of Mr. Jefferson was to advance William & Mary College to the rank of a university, which was against the feeling of the other sects, that institution having been founded by the King & queen & in the interests of the Church of England. (Id. Jefferson's Works Iv. 317, also I. 47-8)

After Mr. Jefferson's retirement from the presidency in 1809, with ambition undiminished, & without any other field in which he might display it, he set himself to work in the interests of higher education. He would establish a university, & gradually evolved the plan upon which the University of Virginia was finally established. The founder's early expectation in regard to this had been to transfer William & Mary College, with its endowment to the new institution, which, however, was not found feasible & the legislation was set forward which resulted in the omission of any provision for instruction in religion. That this result was contrary to the founder's wishes can be made clear from his own utterances. On this point his several schedules of scholastic courses & his recommendations addressed to young friends that they carefully study the Christian system are in place. There his own earnest reading of passages from the bible, (Randall's Life of Jefferson Vol. III. p. 451) for he was accustomed to give half an

hour to this before retiring for the night, gives us his practical lesson, while his occasional references to religion as a branch of study & deemed the only one alike demanding the attention of all men, emphasizes the lesson. (See letter to Mr. Wendover, Works, VI. 444-447) The process of thought which led to the omission of any provision for instruction in religion in the University of Virginia may be briefly stated as follows: First was the embarrassment caused by the logic of disestablishment & the applause which this elicited. There was then the difficulty of making a provision which would satisfy the different sects. To obviate this Mr. Jefferson had a plan & died with the hope that it would yet be realized. It was that all the leading sects would be induced to cluster their theological schools about the university & enjoy its advantages, while teaching their own peculiar tenets. Further, he did not regard the non-provision for religious instruction to involve its prohibition, but supposed that the professors would inculcate those moral & religious principles in which there is a general agreement. He has distinctly expressed himself upon these points in his report as rector for the year 1822 (See Randall's Life of Jefferson, Vol. III. pp. 168-9).

#### XLVII. RELIGION IN THE UNIVERSITY

At the time of the enactment of the organic law of the University of Michigan in 1837 the applause called forth by the legislation disestablishing the Episcopal Church in Virginia & the later establishment of the University of that state with no provision for instruction in religion, was still as loud as ever. The members of the legislative body

of our new state knew in a general way what these legislative acts were, but they knew little definitely of Mr. Jefferson's real views of Christianity, & especially of his earnest wish that education should in some way be made to embrace this subject. Or, at least, whatever their knowledge of the history of the Virginia legislation, they felt that they must copy the example which had been so applauded, & in the statute providing for the University, they made provision for departments of the arts & sciences & of medicine & law & none for theology. Nor does the law hint any preference for any one of the world's several religions; it provides only that there shall be a professorship of "Moral Philosophy & Natural Theology, including the History of all religions."

The law, indeed, ignored all distinctions among the world's religions; but its chosen executive board, the Regents, could not do so. They found<sup>no</sup> religion but the Christian represented among the people; nor did they find any profession but the ministry whose proper work was that of teaching. For this reason & the economic one that the incomes of physicians & lawyers of the highest order of talents & learning were such that they could not be drawn into the work of teaching by any salaries which the board could offer, caused that the earlier professors in the college of the arts & sciences were chosen from the ministry. Other reasons soon became auxilliary to these & perhaps from the very beginning there was a desire to conciliate the only profession for whose education the law made no provision by making its members prominent in the educational work.

An occurrence of the first year of Michigan's state life produced a great effect. Mr. Mason, the young governor, had appointed twelve excellent men as Regents, who, with himself, the lieutenant governor & the justices of the supreme court, as ex officio members, were to carry out the organic law. Not one of these men had ever been connected with an educational board. In making his appointments the governor had passed over all those men who, since 1817 had been prominent in the management of the schools of the territory & of course the new Regents found themselves responsible for the solution of a problem for which they had received no preparatory discipline. When a site for the university had been selected & architectural plans were called for, one was presented and accepted by the board, the execution of which would have cost not less than \$500,000. The board had no funds to put up this building. They had merely 48,000 acres of wild lands. They knew not what these lands might yield.

Now Michigan's educational scheme had been made out, as already stated, by two men, the Honorable Isaac E. Crary & the Reverend John D. Pierce, who lived in the same village in the interior of the state. Mr. Pierce saved the university fund from becoming a total loss, by simply refusing his assent to the grand architectural plan, the carrying out of which would have cost very nearly the entire amount which the sales of university lands would have finally yielded thirty years later.

This crisis past, the Regents began to be fearful of perils yet to come. They were unwilling that the infant

institution should die on their hands & the governor acted upon a suggestion that leading ministers should be given places on the board & appointed for the first vacancy that occurred the Reverend Dr. Duffield of Detroit, who had been familiar with the management of the colleges of Pennsylvania, New Jersey & New York & whose counsel became more valuable than that of any other member. Other appointments were made from the Christian ministry, including those of several denominations in the state, one Catholic priest being of the number. This policy was entered upon in 1839, two years before the opening of the central institution at Ann Arbor.

Several branches of the University were opened in the Autumn of 1837. These were preparatory schools for the accommodation of different parts of the state & were early discontinued, as the issue of a judicial decision which declared them a violation of the terms of the Congressional grant; but the tenor of an early report in regard to their management will show how this was affected by religious considerations.

Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, the distinguished author of the most voluminous work ever published on the North American Indians, was chairman of the committee of the board of Regents on the branches. In his report for 1841 Mr. Schoolcraft stated that it had been the principle of the board to select as teachers men who united sound learning & apt judgment with practical piety; that, accordingly, of the seven principals of branches, five were clergymen, two only laymen, & that these belonged to the several religious

denominations. Of the two laymen, it will suffice to say that Dr. Williams, the patriarch of the University professors, was one. He was in the full spirit of the clerical profession, but his ordination to the diaconate of the Protestant Episcopal Church took place at a later day. Mr. Schoolcraft's report was adopted as the sense of the board.

A report by Dr. Duffield on the central school refers to the attachment of the body of the people to Christianity. It states that the ground principles of the scheme are held in common by all, so far as to admit of their co-operation in an institution of learning. It gives utterance to a regretful feeling that sectarian rivalry had gotten up institutions avowedly in the interests of those of their own faith, & closes with a reference to the perfect harmony which had characterized the action of the board, though made up of members of nearly all the branches of the great Christian body. To this report were attached the names of George Duffield, Presbyterian pastor, Martin Kundig, Roman Catholic priest, & John Owen, the last-named an active Methodist, but not a clergyman. This, too, was adopted as the sense of the board. This was in 1842.

In 1841 the central institution was opened with a freshman class & the Reverend Joseph Whiting, a Presbyterian clergyman, & Mr. George P. Williams who, as before remarked, afterward received deacon's orders in the Episcopal Church, the one as professor of the Greek & Latin languages, the other as professor of Mathematics, were placed in charge of the school.

In 1844, when the first class entered senior I was



myself elected Professor of Intellectual & Moral Philosophy & a year later the Reverend Dr. Whedon was made professor of Logic, Rhetoric & the Philosophy of History. These two were the only chairs whose incumbents were brought in their teaching face to face with the questions of religion; for history cannot be taught without bringing to light Christianity as the chief factor in producing the world's highest civilization, & as to my own work, it will be perceived that it involved all the fundamental questions of religion. It will be naturally inquired how these questions were to be treated under a law which made no provision for religious teaching other than for that of Natural Religion & the History of all Religions.

Now I found that both legislators & Regents expected the professors to teach just what they supposed to belong naturally to the subjects assigned them, & the latter fully concurred in my choice of textbooks. Plato & Cicero might have been chosen on both Natural Religion & Ethics; but the Christian writers Butler, Paley & Wayland were taken as developing to greater perfection the systems of the ancient pagan writers, & Wayland's Moral Science is but the sum of Christianity, the various views which have been taken of its ritual & ecclesiastical systems being omitted. As to the evidences for the truth of the Christian religion, to teach these really involves the history of all religions, since the truth & divinity of Christianity cannot be fairly claimed unless this system is shown by historical proofs to rise above all others in its adaptedness to work the moral renovation of the human race. So the Christian religion was taught in an institution whose organic law made no

distinct provision for it, just as fully as it had been in other colleges & universities of our country.

The saving of the fund from imminent extinction by the timely veto of a poor clergyman who had, by a kind of accident, been made superintendent of Public Instruction, has been referred to, as also that change of policy which introduced clergymen & other specially religious men into the governing board. This policy, together with the employment of so large a clerical element in the faculty, if, indeed, it did not save the university from a financial crash did what was quite as important. The impression had been deep & wide-spread that a state government, its agents called into service under the sway of partisan politics, could not wisely manage an educational institution. The attendance of the clerical members of board & faculty at meetings of the religious bodies of their several denominations in the state was the means of establishing a confidence in the school which would not easily have been brought about in any other way. I know of but one instance in which a resolution adverse to the university was ever passed by an ecclesiastical body in the state & that occurred in the Methodist Conference of 1857. This was after Dr. Whe don's removal, and when no professor of the University was a member of the conference. It has been intimated by some that the early attempt to divide the professorships among the leading religious denominations tended to the election of weaker men might otherwise have been secured. The foregoing paragraph shows that this general policy saved the institution. It remains now to

show that the policy itself was never so definitely settled as has been supposed. It was the result of a general conviction that a school which appealed to all classes for its patronage, should combine elements which would give the widest effect to its appeal. I know of no example which will so well illustrate this statement as that of my own election. My predecessor, Reverend Edward Thompson of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a Methodist, & afterwards became one of the bishops of that Church. He had been for a year under appointment but had not entered upon duty. When in August 1844 he was required, by the formation of the first senior class to elect between entering upon duty & resigning his place, he chose the latter alternative. His successor would naturally have been a Methodist. The Methodist members of the board, of whom there were three, presented a candidate, with high recommendations from New York, but, the three Methodist regents alone voted for him. All the rest, including one Baptist, several each of Episcopalians & Presbyterians, the Governor (Barry) the Chancellor (Manning) & several judges of the Supreme Court not being communicants of any church, voted for me. My name, as I learned afterwards was first suggested by Dr. Williams, an Episcopalian.

President Tappan, in his Historic Statement of 1863, says:- "The first professor elected was a professor of the Greek language & literature. I was consulted respecting Professor Boise before I was myself elected. I was informed that the Regents designed to fill the chair of Ancient Languages from the Baptist denomination. I expressed the opinion that no fitter individual from that denomination

was likely to be obtained. I believe my opinion decided the election."

No although this statement contains a serious error, it is one which Dr. Tappan, & the Regent who wrote him might very naturally have committed; but no board of regents ever had any such design. The following narrative will make the case clear. Professor Boise & myself had been fellow-students, he in a class two years in advance of me, in the institution which has now become Colgate University. We had parted, he going eastward, I westward. He had become professor of Greek in Brown University, I of Intellectual & Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan. But he had looked with longing to the broad west then opening with large promise as a field of educational enterprise & in this state of mind he wrote me. An anecdote of the correspondence will indicate the change which has taken place in college work since that day. We had no janitors. Students did all the work of sweeping, lighting, bell-ringing & whatever else was to be done. Boise was freshman; I was in the preparatory school. He for the year we were associated rang the bell, I lighted the lamps in the halls & chapel, I hardly know why, for my father was both able & willing to support me. The first bell rang at 4½ o'clock in the morning; at 5 we had all to assemble in the chapel for prayers. In the meantime halls & chapel had to be lighted up. Every student's room, too, was illuminated. In winter it was still long before daylight, & while the village below us lay locked in slumber, the bell sounded out clear on the wintry air & the light shone brilliantly from the windows of the two great dormitory buildings on

the hill.

When Professor Boise wrote me of his desire to obtain a Greek professorship in the west, I answered, "It gives me great pleasure to hear from you after these years & be reminded of the time" 'You with music, I with light,  
Did beautify & cheer the night.'"

(Cowper's Nightingale & Glow-worm.)

When in 1851 I resigned my place, the Regents requested me to leave with them the name of a man whom I would recommend for my place, assuring me that they would see to his election. I answered them in writing, giving the name of Professor Boise; but I also informed them that he had not qualified himself for any professorship but that of Greek & would accept no other. It was the man & not the Baptist that was recommended. The mistake occurred somewhere in passing the matter over from an old to a new board & new president. The reader can now appreciate the line of occurrences which followed in the train of the incidents related above. Professor Boise brought about the election of his friend Frieze, an Episcopalian, to the Latin professorship, Frieze that of his friend Angell, a congregationalist, to the presidency, & whatever changes this latter has caused in the institution are but links in the same chain of occurrences.

In addition to the foregoing narrative in regard to the teaching of branches involving basal views in religion, I deem it safe to affirm that, while every professor used all desirable freedom in the utterance of religious convictions, no one in those early years of the university of which I am treating, ever violated a strict propriety by

by lugging into the class-room his own sectarian views. Each day was begun by a religious service in the chapel at 6 o'clock in the morning; this was immediately followed by a recitation &, in order that students might have no excuse for occupying their thoughts on Sundays with other than a religious subject, each one of the four college classes was given a lesson for Monday morning in the Greek Testament. It now remains to note the voluntary religious activity in the University. It is quite certain that the students had their meetings for prayer & religious conference from the very opening of the central school with a freshman class in the Autumn of 1841; my direct personal knowledge of these meetings, however, began with September 1844. The professors had no other relation to these than that of privy counsellors & if present at them it was only as participants with the students, not as leaders. The meetings were held, I think, twice in the week, once on a week-day evening & then on Sunday morning from the close of Chapel worship till the hour of breakfast. These religious movements among the students were at first without organization; there was only a general understanding as to the persons who should lead the meetings.

It was, I think, during the college year 1846-7 that a representative of the students, Mr. T. R. Chase of the class of 1849, called on me for counsel in regard to the organization of a society with a religious purpose among the students of the University & in reply to his questions I outlined to him the constitution of the Society for Missionary Inquiry then existing in Madison University. This was

the society the researches & spirit of whose members had long been so fruitful in supplying missionaries for both the foreign & the home field, the former from that branch of the body known as the Eastern Association, while another division called the Western Association was made up of men destined to our Western frontier settlements. I named to Mr. Chase many of the distinguished men who had followed Mr. Judson to India from the bosom of this Society & was able to name one, Freeman by name, who had been sent as a missionary to the cluster of huts about which the city of Chicago has since sprung up. I placed in his hands also, as a specimen of the work of the Society of Inquiry in Madison University a report which I had myself prepared for that body, while there an undergraduate, presented probably in the year 1840, or 1841.

The result, of the interview sketched above was an organization with the general name of Society of Inquiry, with such epithets, not now remembered, as its connection with the University of Michigan naturally suggested. As the purpose of this society was research, rather than religious activity & devotion, the devotional meetings were kept up in greater or less independence of the new organization. I cannot from personal knowledge trace this history further than 1851, when I first retired from the University. On my becoming again connected with the institution in 1864, I found the Society of Inquiry no longer in existence. The elements of religious research, devotion & action had all merged & united in the general plan of affiliated Young Men's Christian Associations, much as now, under the name of

## The Students' Christian Association.

It is in place to observe here that this chapter & the preceding one grew out of a request made of me three years ago by the president of the Students' Christian Association for a sketch of religious influence & action in the early University. This request was understood to call for an account of my own personal relations to that of which I was to write. I allow myself, therefore to state that by one of those occurrences generally called accidents, I met the young man, Mr. Jennings, just sent out to canvass for the means of building a hall for the use of the Students Christian Association of the University. It was in a park in the city of Detroit. We seated ourselves, he told me his errand & asked for suggestions. I told him that the Honorable John S. Newberry, of the class of 1847, afterwards member of the XLVI Congress, had recently died, leaving a fortune of several millions & it was understood that, after having bequeathed considerable amounts for benevolent purposes, he had intimated to his wife that he would like to have more of his estate given to worthy objects which did not then occur to him & suggested to Mr. Jennings that he go to her, which he did, & she gave so large a portion of the more than \$40,000 which the building was to cost that it bears the name of Newberry Hall.

A word may here be added in regard to the early sensitiveness touching the relation of religion to state education. In the winter of 1846-7 there was an earnest religious movement in the churches of Ann Arbor. The university then had its study hours, during which the students were expected to



remain in their rooms. The evening hours from 7 to 9 o'clock were embraced by the rule & these were the hours of the revival services. But those who desired to attend the meetings & would use the hours ordinarily given to recreation in mastering their lessons, were excused for the purpose. Some of the specially religious Regents were deeply concerned lest politicians should make a handle of the matter & besought the professors to prevent, if possible, the spread of any knowledge of it through the newspapers. But this concern was quite unnecessary. With large numbers, if not with the majority of the people, the impression made by the intelligence was favorable to the institution, & the politicians knew better than to object, since they desired that students should be excused to hear the political campaign speeches which should be made in the place. These anxious friends of the university erred, too, in supposing that honest Christian professors in the university would encourage a religious work among the students & make any attempt to conceal it from public notice.

Mr. Jefferson's final plan for clustering the schools of the Christian sects around his state university has been referred to in the foregoing sketches. Of this I knew nothing until about seven years ago when I made a study of the educational legislation of Virginia. But at the Baptist convention of Michigan in the Autumn of 1846 the question of founding a theological seminary at Kalamazoo being under consideration, I succeeded in convincing the most of those present that schools of this class ought to be locally connected with the university. The ground taken was that this measure

would in the end secure from the university fund a part at least of the benefits from which the clerical profession alone had been excluded, & that it was bad economy for the religious sects to expend large sums in doing for themselves what the state would do for them. But the local plans had already gone so far that many voted against their own declared convictions for the school at Kalamazoo. A theological Seminary only was designed by this vote; but there was no demand developed for such an institution, & it was, therefore, made a college, & will, doubtless, become a respectable school of its class. I have introduced a notice of it only as belonging in the line of development which I have traced from the legislation of Virginia.

But historical sketches like the foregoing are useless except as they justify deductions involving current action. Such is the lesson taught & impressed by this history. It has become evident to deeply reflective minds that the problem of separating religious from secular teaching in the public schools, which many deem so easy, cannot be practically solved as has been thought. It is clear that he who imagines that he has effected a solution, has deceived himself. Religious teaching pervades the world's literature. We must abolish all this before we can begin to effect the separation. And this abolishment will have to sweep away our dictionaries. Or shall we skip & leave unexplained all the words of religious import? Or, to name a particular study, that of history, shall teachers in this unbounded field, describe their surveys of that portion which relates to the development of the family of nations known as Christendom, the acknowledged product of the Christian Religion,

without expressing, or having formed an opinion as to whether the system which has wrought so marvelously is true or false? It would be better to omit the teaching altogether. It is, indeed, easy to leave out from a course of study the polemic aspects of Christianity & this should be done. So too can the teacher omit the controversial history of science generally & teach chiefly what has been established, & this would generally be better in practice than to wade through the quagmires of past controversy. To show that the Copernican system is true will show that the Ptolemaic is false. Polemics in science belongs to scientific conventions, in which there is indeed no want of knightly displays; these should be kept out of the classroom. So the Christian ritual, whether its administration, or the polemic views in regard to it, belong to the Church & never to the school-room, unless it be in the theological course. So, too, of those religious doctrines in regard to which a general agreement has not been secured. But religious teaching cannot be kept out of the public schools & the near future will develop a revolution of the practice of our country in this regard.

#### XLVIII. SOME ARCHEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

The antiquities of a great institution usually form a subject of interest; but those of a school which has not yet completed by many years, even reckoning from its mustard-seed inception in Detroit, the first century of its existence, or a city, but seventy-two years from the pitching of the first tent upon its site, would naturally seem to promise little to archeological inquiry. If any one should

ask of me a specimen of the university's antiquities, I might bid him look upon me as the only living relic of a faculty that existed before the graduation in 1845 of the first class. Governor Felch, who died the present year, had long been the sole survivor of the legislature which enacted in 1836 the organic law of the institution. Nor was there any other than he living of the board of Regents in 1844. These relics I cannot exhibit, unless it may be in photograph, & shall give only a few pictorial touches upon the village & school of the early days.

There are few, if any, living who know that both students & professors began before the first class graduated in supposed imitation of the English universities to wear the cap & gown. The students of the graduating class of 1894, doubtless thought they were the first to import this custom from Oxford & Cambridge; but all the classes in 1844 distinguished themselves in this manner from citizens, as did also the professors, appearing thus clad not only on public days, but every day. We formed a set of novel figures in this little western town & doubtless impressed many of the people with high notions of academic lustre. I can give no account of the discontinuance of this attempt, except that when any neglected the provision we were thrown out of uniform & gradually gave up our endeavor at this kind of distinctive dress. (During the administration of Acting-President Frieze, 1869-71, the whole body of students adopted a mortar-board cap and tassel for regular wear, with silver dates of the graduating year of the wearer on its front. Many of the faculty, including the president, also wore these caps. The custom held but two or three years. B.A.F.)

The college tricks & jokes of early times have to a great extent given way to others, whether of a more elevated character I shall not attempt to decide. Indeed, it is natural to suppose that classes made up of western boys whose parents had first established themselves in log cabins & had but just risen above this low grade in the outer adornments of civilized life, would be thrown upon their own invention in the matter of tricks, having few distinct traditions of those then current in the eastern colleges. The first that I heard of, which is, indeed, the better remembered because the attempt was a failure, occurred the year before my connection with the university. Some students were preparing for an entertainment in which milk was required. Whether they intended to make the old-fashioned milk-punch, on which in my boyhood I have seen so many people made merry, I am not informed; but the boys chose night for the execution of their plot. They chased an animal which they thought would furnish the needed supply & after much labor got it cornered only to find out that it was not of the sex which usually yields this nutritious fluid. Whether the boys made another & more successful incursion into some pasture was not reported. The cause of failure was probably deemed the chief feature of the adventure.

The bell was rung upon a post about twenty feet high. This was one night stolen by sawing off one of the two arms of the post which sustained it. The eastern college trick which corresponds to this was to climb to the belfry, turn the bell upside down in a cold winter evening & pour it full of water, which before morning would freeze solid &

the bell would swing noiseless in the wintry airs. The trick here fell quite short of its purpose; for the students were obliged to assemble without the usual summons, & those who had no part in the larceny did not patiently suffer the want of the call. Moreover the board enacted that the cost of such depredations as this & the breaking of glass, in case the depredator should not be detected, should be assessed upon the body of students & entered as an item in their term-bills. It was a kind of insurance in a Students' Mutual. The bell had been carried to the river & had there lain for a couple of weeks immersed. The inconvenience of its want was deeply felt by those who had carried it away, as well as by others, & somebody who knew where it was brought it back.

The somewhat bungling nature of the early tricks of our institution is best explained by the want of any well known precedents as established in eastern colleges; for we were then in the far west. An apt illustration may be seen in the following account. One morning near the close of the Summer term, as students & professors were on their way to the room used for morning & evening prayers in the first dormitory building, intelligence of a trick was brought back to them by those who had first reached the chapel. The hay which the night before lay raked up on the ground about the building, had been carried up & mowed away in the chapel. On looking around we could see that the heaps which had adorned the ground at evening were missing. We found the whole crop in the chapel. When all had surveyed the scene, the janitor was left with half a day's work

before him to remove it, & professors & students retired without prayers to the exercises of their several class rooms. This work was attributed to a young candidate for the Presbyterian ministry, a profession which he afterwards highly adorned. The best explanation of the affair is that he was conscientious & desired to perform an amount of labor equal to the fun which it yielded.

As to the most common of the college tricks, it was not always quite certain whether they were intended as simple mischief, or whether they were gotten up out of benevolence, or revenge. I refer to the tearing up of the plank side-walks which then prevailed in the town. It was for a time by no means unusual to go out in the morning & see a walk to the extent of an entire block standing on its edge against a fence, or lying wrong side up by the wayside. If the walk had been a fairly good one, the work was set down to the account of pure mischief. If it had been bad, its tearing up was deemed an admonition to the owner to mend his ways. Students may have kicked their feet, as others than students often did, against the uprising end of a plank & at once proceeded to summary vengeance. This kind of mischief may have had some influence in causing the early introduction of asphalt walks, which might become ever so bad & still defy this kind of treatment. The asphalt has now generally yielded to flagging or to an artificial stone which in winter is a good substitute for ice, except that skating on it is not permitted. The tearing up of walks of this kind would be too laborious as a pastime is not needed as an admonition. And yet it may be

but the boundless fertility of invention for the expenditure of redundant life which has wrought this change in the incidents of a university career. The law of evolution is here, as elsewhere, in force. It has eliminated most of the early tricks & recreations. Many of them scarcely exist now even as traditions. The stealing of sign-boards, indeed, survives the wreck, but is kept up somewhat as a kind of private enterprise, while the great current of the student life flows on in the channels formed by the fraternities & other clubs & societies. With not less than forty organized clubs, or fellowships for studious, sportive, convivial, or social life, it is not a matter of wonder that time fails for the old-fashioned college tricks as also with not a few of the old time habits of devotion to study which have declined somewhat.

The most demonstrative interest clusters around the organizations for athletic games. These differ from the corresponding early sports of the students in that for the first ten years of the university, if not for double that length of time, for I was not here from 1851 to 1862, the athletic diversions were chiefly without definite organization & all took more or less part in them, each sharing without exhaustion the moderate & wholesome exertion. One could be struck with the ball of those days without the peril of life or limb, which is no longer true. (A young lady passing through the streets here in the summer of 1894, was struck with a ball & died of the injury received.) The practice now delegates to two or three hundred out of as many thousand the entire performance in the great athletic games, while the participation of the body of the students



consists in shouting over a victory, or in accepting in sympathetic silence a defeat of their representatives.

At this point I feel like introducing a narrative by way of indicating the present stage of the evolution of our university sports. A comparison of the college sports cannot justly be deemed a departure from the plan of this chapter. The present generation in university life have sometimes applied the epithet "prehistoric" to the period of which I now write, which word, however, in this application, subserves better the purposes of the humorist than those of the scientific inquirer. So far as essential features are concerned, the early institution & the life of its students & professors can yet be placed as distinctly before the inquirer's mind as now is seen the ever accumulating flow of current events. It is only the accidents that are lost. Some specimens of these are what this chapter is designed to restore. They are the remaining drift of a bygone life.

The tricks of students have been under consideration. Some of these have, indeed, been floated down by Professor Williams' happy repartees. On his way to the morning recitation in mathematics the Professor once met a student coming to tell him that a donkey was in his class-room; his prompt response on receiving the report was:- "Is there but one," implying that he was expecting to meet quite a number of that class of animal. A frog was once put into his desk & during the recitation of the freshman class he raised the lid and the animal sprang out, upon which he simply observed, "here comes another freshman" & proceeded with the class-room work. Invention has busied itself somewhat with this

prehistoric period, as I had occasion a couple of years ago to learn, when a new professor, in speaking of this class of tricks, referred to the introduction of a goose into my class-room. I could only answer that it never occurred; and this leads me to remark that so far as I know this kind of jokes was practiced only on Professor Williams & I have sometimes placed this to the credit of the good feeling of the students, thinking that they may have been moved by the desire to call forth those humorous repartees which were sure to follow their tricks.

Three petty larcenies were committed on my premises, one in the "prehistoric period," the other two at a much later date. The prehistoric occurrence was the stripping of a choice grape-vine in my garden. This was fixed upon the perpetrators in a manner which did them not little credit. I called at a room the next day on quite a different errand, & incidentally saw that grapes & some remains of devoured ones were abundant about the room. The young man whom I met in my call had had no hand in the depredation. I did my errand & made no reference to the appearance of the room; in the morning, however, I received a happily worded note, signed by four boys, acknowledging the trespass. There were unwilling that suspicion should rest upon the innocent student whom I had seen in the midst of the plunder. They desired me to regard the note as personal to myself & not at all as written to escape any action which the faculty might see fit to take. The boys were expelled, I alone refusing to vote for this disposition of the case. They were mere boys; they might all of them have been sent to

their parents on the ground that they were not up to what was required of them in their studies. But contrary to my expressed conviction the action was based solely upon this nocturnal foraging expedition - that it was wrong for faculty or regents to assign any but the real ground for their action. I have always regarded it so.

The other larceny was that of a fine turkey. This occurred far within the historic period of the University; the class history made it clear that the guilty party was the son of a professor of high standing & gave some description also of the nightly entertainment at which the turkey figured; this was worth twice as much as the grapes; but the larceny was deemed a good joke. Since times immemorial people have been taught to look back to a golden age, an age of purer & happier life than the present. I express no opinion myself in regard to the reality of such an era, in the prehistoric development of our university; but those who desire to maintain the theory of golden ages in the past may, perhaps, find use for the foregoing suggestions.

A joke setting forth the relation of college & town may be in place here & I add one of hundreds. Governor Mundy, as he was called, afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court, was a man of noble presence, to which he added a pair of gold-bowed spectacles, the more impressive because, so far as I remember, they were the only ones, except in case of Professor Williams, seen in the place. He lost these and advertised the loss by a note put up in the post-office. Under this some one, I dare not affirm that it was not a professor, wrote the words, "Sic transit gloria Mundi."

The foregoing must suffice for the class of antiquarian facts intended for this chapter. (Note. It can now in no wise harm any one to give the name of Tilman C. Trowbridge as that of the young man at whose room I called as indicated above. Mr. T. would have done, as would any true-hearted young man; he would have said nothing about the matter to others; but he merely said to his room-mate, "you see that you have subjected me to being suspected of that in which I had no part." The four were too noble & just to do this, & wrote me the note to which I have referred. Mr. Trowbridge belonged to one of the most prominent families in the state. He was willing to forego those advantages of home to which he seemed to have been born & accordingly spent his life as a missionary in the Ottoman Empire, where he died in 1888, president of the college at Aintab. A brief notice of the death of Tillman C. Trowbridge, D.D., will be found in the Michigan Pioneer & Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. p. 162. Notices of the prominent family to which he belonged are dispersed throughout these Collections. As to the four unnamed boys, I only add that my mind followed them with equally good wishes & no reproaches, &, although I have never seen their note since the day it was received, the fitness of the terms in which their acknowledgments were couched continue to impress me. And I refer to the matter chiefly to indicate the feelings of the teacher towards those who have fallen within the circle of his influence. Three of the four lads, as they then were, have enacted their several parts on the earthly stage & stepped upon another.

## XLIX. STUDENTS SOCIETIES &amp; CLUBS

Under the head of Religion in the University two organized bodies, the old Society of Inquiry & the Students' Christian Association have been brought into special notice. But there are other organizations of students which have become quite too numerous to be separately mentioned, having a large range as to their purposes. In this respect the change has been quite as great since the first class in the university entered senior as in the curriculum of study. The first of these were after a long-existing pattern in American colleges, & had for their object the improvement of their numbers in rhetorical & oratorical practice. There had generally existed in our colleges two of these in active rivalry to each other, often carrying this so far as to canvass for members from academies in advance of matriculation which they did by correspondence. The two rival societies here were called respectively the Alpha Nu & Phi Phi Alpha, which latter name has been changed to Literary Adelphi. In my sketch of the Secret Society War I have referred to the competition of these two bodies as becoming at one time so heated that they referred the matter of contest to the faculty for adjudication.

While we were engaged on this case many an amusing incident occurred, of which the following may serve as a specimen. One young man testified that his society lacked just half a vote of what they needed for their purpose. The reader can tell as well as I can what he meant, but such was his testimony, upon which Professor Williams asked him whether they were able to "make the change," & when it was

learned who it was that was brought in for the purpose, there was a unanimous feeling that the change was about right.

These organizations for literary & oratorical practice proved a useful auxiliary to the department of instruction in rhetoric & elocution. Rooms were assigned them by the Regents, these were furnished by the societies, the furniture including in both instances respectable libraries of popular books. But this class of literary organizations, after a useful career of considerable length, have either greatly yielded, or entirely succumbed to the reign of other combinations, or at least other influences. Perhaps the severest & the final check upon their activity was that their rooms were taken from them to serve as class-rooms for professors; but long before they encountered this decisive action, other college forces were coming to the front. Of these the so-called Fraternities were chief.

Of the origin of this class of sodalities I shall not treat further than to observe that each is supposed to be started in some college, & then the maternal body forms its chapters, or affiliated bodies, in other institutions. These affiliations began to be formed here as early as 1845. To canvass their merits forms no part of my purpose. I am only regarding them as a phenomenon, or series of phenomena, in college & university life. I have already sketched with considerable detail the conflict which grew out of their introduction, which I have endeavored to do with the calmness of an indifferent observer & certainly have felt no acrimony while making my sketch, if any traces of such

feeling are suspected by the reader. I desire only to add in a general way that these affiliations have so multiplied that they threaten to exhaust the power of combination in the letters of the Greek alphabet to supply them with names. Some of them have erected & some have purchased houses which rival the best architectural structures of the city. Of the more pretentious edifices there are at least half-a-dozen ranking in the architecture of Ann Arbor somewhat greater now than do the great club-houses in that of London, while the chapters here of the other fraternities rent less pretentious buildings. They number in all twenty-two, in which number are included two, however, that are not properly designated as fraternities, since they are made up of ladies. The term sorosis, derived from soror, sister, as fraternity is from frater, brother, is applied to these clubs of lady students. Both seem to foretoken a return to the coenobitic life of the Middle Ages.

There has sometimes been developed a decided antagonism between the members of the fraternities on the one side & the Independents, on the other. This shows itself in elections of officers of classes & those of the larger societies; a division of honors is, however, generally agreed upon, & any violence of hostility is thus avoided.

The reader can judge of the financial resources which must be at the command of these affiliated bodies, enabling them to build as they do & maintain a style of living to correspond with their exterior show. How the funds for purchase or construction are raised I do not know, & yet do not doubt that graduate members of the chapters, &

perhaps others, have furnished these & receive dividends upon their stock from the rent paid by the members who occupy the houses.

The great omnibus society of the University, that is, the one which takes in all who choose to join it from every department & class, is the Students' Lecture Association. The purpose of this organization is to supply lectures & concerts to the students & to citizens' families. Having the use of the University Hall, which seats nearly three thousand people, this society is able to command the best oratorical & musical talent of the country. When wise arrangements are made, though lecturers & other entertainers are paid the highest prices, the Association has generally had a surplus fund, one way at least of expending which has been to purchase periodical literature for the University Library. But the multiplication of other attractions threatens the dominance of this society's course of entertainments; for the unrolling panorama is ever bringing new forms of life into prominence. The ebb & flow are perpetual.

#### L. LITERATURE & OTHER INCIDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY LIFE

By the title of this chapter are not meant catalogues & official reports of Regents, Presidents & Professors. Nor have I any reference to the volumes produced by professors & other officers; but rather to that spontaneous development of the student life which has now taken on organized & established forms & yields its annual product of many a volume. Some may be interested in being led back to the fountain-head of this scholastic literature. This can be done, so far as our university is concerned. A more remote origin, however, in other institutions I shall not attempt



to trace.

The first form of this student literature was the burlesque scheme for the exercises of commencement & Junior Exhibition. Such schemes were gotten up by finding some way of access through printers, or otherwise, to the scheme made out by the faculty. As every member of the graduating-class delivered an oration on Commencement day, & every junior at the junior exhibition, to both which public occasions was added a declamation by the Sophomores, the occasions for the issue of these schemes were frequent. They often transcended the bounds of decorum & passed into the trifling or obscene, & yet generally so aptly etched the traits of students on the lists as to partially redeem the issue from the taint of obscenity. Those who got these up remained unknown & could not, therefore, be made responsible. The offence was finally suppressed by making those who distributed the burlesques, for these were usually put into the hands of the regular distributors of schemes, answerable for it. Such papers did not continue long to be gotten up after it became so difficult to get them into circulation.

The first attempt that I remember at a variation in this class of scourging literature was a little sheet, I think it was called "The Whip," & if not, this name would have suited it. The imprint indicated that it was issued "Semi-occasionally from the garret of Thayer's old barn." How many issues ever appeared I do not know. It busied itself with affairs of school & town, acting as a censor of morals, & this the more freely as it was anonymous & irresponsible. Spurts of this kind may be regarded as the

prehistoric originals of a literature of which unnumbered volumes are now sent forth every year, under the direction of responsible Boards of Educators named & known, their matter the serious, humorous & comic, variously intermingled. Many of these are annually bound & find their way into the University library & into numerous families & may thus pass down to other generations, while the annual histories, prophecies & poems of graduating classes, are likely to be more ephemeral. The periods of these issues vary from that of the U. of M. Daily to monthlies & occasionals without number as well as annuals. I have no thought of even naming them. Of the occasional issues I give a specimen as setting forth the merry side of college life. It is taken from a thin volume entitled "Songs of the Yellow & Blue," the Songs by Charles Gayley & F. N. Scott, the music by A. A. Stanley.

I give the following song, by F. N. Scott. It is entitled "Elixir Juventatis." The reader is to regard the drinking as probably not real metaphoric.

1. A health! clink! clink! & now we drink  
 No juice of grape or grain,  
 But we sip, forsooth, the wine of youth  
 That leaps from heart to brain;  
 We're young! we're young! Let every tongue  
 Intone the choral hymn,  
 While memory swings her silent wings  
 Above each beaded brim.
2. When men are old, their hearts grow cold  
 In life's tumultuous storm;  
 But ours still glow amid the snow,  
 And keep our bosoms warm;  
 The laughing lip, the hands that grip,  
 When friendly hands are wrung,  
 Some day must die & powerless lie -  
 Let's use them while we're young.

3. 'Tis time to part, the tear-drops start  
 And turn our drink to brine;  
 Good-bye, old friend, may heaven send  
 Goodhap to thee & thine;  
 And when we're gray and round the way  
 The darkling shadows creep,  
 Upon our knees we'll drink the lees,  
 And gently fall asleep.

In the year 1846, I myself being at that time the executive of the faculty, a United States Senator from a western state wrote me making inquiries looking towards sending a son to the university, among other things inquiring whether "music & dancing" were taught in the institution. I was obliged to answer negatively to this interrogatory, & the boy, whether from the want of provision for teaching the two accomplishments mentioned, or whether, as is more probable, on account of examinations for which he was unprepared, did not come. I was a little curious to know something further of the gentleman who had addressed to me this inquiry & asked one of our own Senators in Congress in regard to him, only to learn that he was generally found where ever there was dancing, in which he always participated keeping up the amusement the night through. Had I waited a little time I might have learned the same from the Washington correspondents of the newspapers, for they soon conferred upon him epithets significant of this distinction & made it clear that he won no other during his senatorial career.

Music is now represented by a professor in the University. To notice personalities other than the early ones would be to transcend the limits of my plan; & so I will only add that this step has imparted a certain charm to university circles, as also to the families of citizens. As to dancing I can only add that it is represented in the place by an academy, which

still waits outside, with what ground of hope I do not know, for admission into the institution.

The establishment of a professorship of Music in the University has had some incidental effects which are worth a notice. Of these the chief one is the founding of the University School of Music, so called, for it is not in any strict sense a part of the University, though the Professor of Music is its director & others officially connected with the University belong to the organization. This school has now a building of its own, named Frieze Hall, in honor of the late Professor Frieze, the first President of the University Musical Society. A recent occurrence, however, in connection with this school involves a kind of relation to the University. The Musical Society purchased & presented to the institution to be placed in its great hall the Columbian organ, one of the largest ever made & supposed to be the very best, made so by a combination of all past improvements in manufacture. The demands for such an instrument were of course few, as there were few places where it could be put up. It was purchased for \$15,000, half its cost, which amount was partly raised by subscription & partly left to be realized by concerts, the first of which netted \$5,000. Such is the weight of the structure that special supports had to be placed under it to make its erection in the hall safe to the building. The amount paid them by the Exposition & its value in the university as an advertisement satisfied the builders.

## LI. NATURAL SCENERY

The scenery of our city is a fine compromise between a dead level & the rugged peaks of Alpine lands. Attention has

already been called to the plain first chosen as the site of the village as it appeared under its natural adornings of bur-oaks. These, with some exceptions which serve as mementos of what the place was in its wild state, have been cut away. The result of the clearing process has been not to obliterate, but to disclose the charms which nature had spread profusely over the landscape. The arboreous growths which had limited the view once cut away, vistas rarely excelled in beauty, have been opened to the observer. The grand features of the place were marked out in those periods of the mysteriously sublime, when the earth's surface was remodeled by glacial & diluvial action. The geologist may make some rude guesses at the time, the process, & the duration of this transforming work. I shall not attempt it. Doubtless coeval with the action of the forces, which plowed out the expansive depths that now form the world's grandest line of fresh water seas, occurred the scooping out of the valley of the Huron as a trifling side-show in the sublime exhibition; exhibition I say; but it was an exhibition without a human spectator. Geologists may be applied to for the story of the formation of this surface; I shall only indicate what it is & what now appears upon it.

In plowing out this valley & depositing the drift that forms the bluffs along it, nature formed a drawing upon which she was to complete her exquisite picture, to await a later artistic adornment. The bluffs extend somewhat less than sixteen miles on the river between Dexter & Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor being their central point & the place of greatest activity in the forces which shaped the features of the

region. The chief of these & that which governs all the rest is a natural basin scooped out by diluvial action on the level of the river-banks. This, measured from the highest elevations around it, would show a diameter of about one mile. The present course of the river winds back & forth from one side to the other of these lowlands, which have been cleared & formed into plow-lands & meadows, except that portion which was originally built upon & known as the Lower-town, now the fifth ward of the city.

A few years ago the city completed a carriage road around that part of this basin which was not already laid out into streets. This road is known as the Boulevard. Starting from the river road leading to Ypsilanti, it climbs by zigzag to near the summits of the north side bluffs & descends by the old Plymouth road, or Broadway, into the Lower town. This forms the popular walk & drive of citizens, students, professors & visitors. The circuit, setting out from the vicinity of the post-office, is about three miles & throughout its whole course affects with a rare charm those who love rural scenery combined with artistic adornment.

On pleasant Saturday & other holiday afternoons of the Spring, early Summer & Autumn, this way is more or less thronged. The student element prevails in the pedestrian procession, the families of citizens are more frequently in the carriages. The School-girls' Glen, a name which formerly suggested lovers' rambles, is now chiefly a memory. It may, perhaps, be visited when love-making, under mask of botanizing reaches its most interesting & serious stage; but

the Boulevard is the highway of the promenade. College girls & their attendant beaux are often seen sitting on the green margins of the highway, or the girls are standing to see the young men compete in throwing stones to the bed of the river below. Groups stand here & there surveying the scenery. On the basin itself the sheen of the water gleams through the foliage which lines the river banks, while gardens, vineyards & meadows vary the aspect below & the architecture of the city beyond enlarges & diversifies the prospect, to all which are also added an alternation of field & woodland still further on. About a mile distant, the monuments on the north side of the rural cemetery can be seen among the primeval forest trees which adorn its ground.

A tendency has been developed of late years to build good houses on the bluffs southward of the basin. The university hospital buildings are erected on the side of one of these eminences as it rises from a ravine which puts down to the river. The lines of buildings which crown these heights present an imposing view to those who are promenading the elevated way northward of the river. The first edifice erected in all this part of the city, indeed, for many years quite out of the city & alone, was the astronomical observatory. It stands above all others, so placed that no intervening object could cut off the observer's view of the horizon.

It is worthy of note that Ann Arbor's most distinguishing architectural feature is indebted for its origin to the series of cataclysms which gouged out the channel of

the Huron & heaped their drift into the bluffs which line its course. In the diluvion which was pushed or washed by the violent forces then active in nature, were fragments of broken up rock strata from those worn into fine sand & pebbles to the great boulders of tons in weight which lie scattered over the surface & are found lodged in the drift to its greatest depths. A few farm-houses were early built of the cobble-stone size of this deposit. The larger stones were used in the foundations of houses in the village & later city; but the real art of shaping the great boulders into a tasty building material had an independent origin here, if, indeed, it has ever been so beautifully executed elsewhere. Four churches are built of these boulders, cut into blocks so as to present in the popular view the finest facades in the city. There are here but two private houses of this material, those built respectively by Judge Cooley & Professor Frieze & these were built too early to show the artistic use of this material which was to be developed. The buildings & other work about the Central Railroad station - & these form one of the later steps in redeeming Ann Arbor from a low grade in architectural & landscape improvement in the eyes of those who rush through it by steam - find their basal features in the structures of the hewn boulders of the place, these being ornamented with stones brought on from abroad. To those who remember the two breweries, with surroundings corresponding thereto, which once occupied this ground, the transformation seems magical. All other connections between the Upper & Lower towns were cut off & a bridge was thrown over the railroad



to connect the two. The high bank which rises from the road southward was purchased & turfed & is now kept shorn with the lawn-mower, though so steep that this has to be drawn with a rope. A fountain plays & foliage & flowering plants thrive about the station, while the buildings are made to seem of venerable age by the ivy trained about them, so that the traveler who waits there finds himself surrounded by beauties the product of an alliance of art with nature in forms elsewhere scarcely known. Dislodged at divers points & from different strata, & here brought together by accident, these immigrant stones show when dressed & laid up a beautiful variety of texture & shade. These blocks gratefully affect the mind also when wrought, as they often are into walls of brick, as trimmings & adornments. The high-school building well illustrates this remark. Referring again to the Rail-road station, the artistic advance has been attended by a corresponding moral one. This used to be the gathering place of men & boys who had nothing to do. Scuffling & fighting were not unusual; indeed, I once saw there knives drawn & blood caused to flow, so that for a moment I expected soon to be witness in a murder trial. There are enough such men & boys still in Ann Arbor; but since taste has been displayed in the construction & surroundings of the buildings, & discipline is exercised within, these find other places of assembly. This has been a transformation since the time when two old breweries occupied this ground.

And in quite recent years, a new turn has been given to the architect's art in the use of these boulders in

combination with wood. The stone work may be best defined as a very artistic affectation of nature. The stones are laid up with little or no shaping & made to look as if they had rained down into their positions, forming a kind of natural grotto over which an artistic upper story & roofing of wood had been constructed. Several students club-houses & some fine family dwellings are of this type.

The foregoing paragraphs have been written merely as hints of what cataclysms of nature of unnumbered ages ago wrought in preparation for the development of this place. We learn that the diluvion of the overloaded glacial force which was here unloaded, shaped both the superficial features of the place & left a peculiar material to aid in its architectural adornment.

### LII. NECROLOGY & PERSONAL SKETCHES

In the following sketches of the deceased who had in their lives served the University I make no claim to a treatment according to any fixed standard of merit. Such comparison would, indeed, be invidious, since it would be impossible to make it with any approach to absolute justice. The best life is often, if not usually, that which shows fewest points to arrest attention & mark it as of special interest for a biographical sketch. Those high moral qualities which illustrate themselves in a career no point in which towers greatly above any other, justly command our admiration; but they often furnish no eligible material for the writer of a brief sketch to lay hold of. My notices of such shall be the briefest possible. There have been those, however, who exemplify both these classes of traits, that

is, those whose lives have been a quiet round of ordinary duties, and who have, nevertheless, offered to public view some bold features to be seized upon for notice.

Asa Gray has already been mentioned as the first man elected to a professorship in the University, for which, however, he did nothing to give him a claim to special notice as one of its band of co-laborers. The notice is demanded rather by what the University did for him & helped him to do to advance the science for the teaching of which it elected him. He was born in Oneida County, New York, in 1810, & was educated at the Fairfield Medical School at Herkimer, but was disinclined to the practice of medicine & had an insatiable passion for natural history & especially for botany. By some important services already rendered he had become well known to members of the board of Regents, & was elected in 1838 professor of Botany & Zoology & commissioned to purchase for the University the beginning of a library, as already mentioned.

When Dr. Gray was abroad, Marzius, deemed, I believe, to have been the greatest botanist of his time, was at the height of his fame. He had been of the scientific corps of the expedition which was sent out jointly by Austria & Bavaria to South America in 1817 & continued its explorations until 1820. To affirm that Professor Gray during his first visit to Europe placed himself in personal relations with Professor Marzius, would be affirming what I do not know, & yet cannot doubt; for during a personal acquaintance with Marzius in 1860-62, I found him sending regularly to Gray the issues of his labors, & speaking of the latter as he

would do of a personal friend. And I know quite well that the house of the German professor would have been as agreeable a place as could have been found for a pleasant alteration between the scientific & the social. Marzius wrote, as did the scientists of his day, his botanic treatises in Latin, & yet at nearly three score & ten he could still unbend himself to play the violin, while his daughters sang our American Negro melodies which I never heard in any other German household. So we have the greatest of European botanists of the early half of the century imparting his attainments to him who in its later half was to be the greatest of Americans in the same field of inquiry. It is certain that Gray did make the acquaintance of the chief, if not of all the great botanists.

Dr. Gray was not a mere botanist. Botanic & zoological inquiry has been the field of those speculations which have given the name of the "doctrine of evolution" to a certain theory, called also Darwinism, from Charles Darwin, who was doubtless the most exact observer and interpreter of those facts, especially in zoology, upon which the theory rests. But Dr. Gray excelled Darwin in reasoning from the observed facts. One has only to read the Life & Letters of Charles Darwin to perceive that Darwin himself ranked Gray as first in the exactness of his critical speculations on the questions of their common science. Not only does Darwin so utter himself substantially in words, but the amount of his correspondence with Gray exceeds that with any other man, so far as noticed in these volumes. And yet Gray was a fierce believer in the Divine origin of the Hebrew &

Christian Scriptures, Darwin was either skeptical, or in perpetual vacillation on this subject. Dr. Gray says of himself, "I am scientifically & in my own fashion a Darwinian, philosophically a convinced theist & religiously an acceptor of the creed commonly known as the 'Nicene,' as an exposition of the Christian faith." He died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, January 30th, 1888.

It is in place here to indicate the principle on which the names have been selected for introduction into these personal sketches. As I am writing rather of early steps which have led to present conditions, I shall notice none who are still in active connection with the university, & of those who belong to the past I shall make note of those only who may be justly deemed to have contributed somewhat decisively to the founding or development of the institution, or who have won such distinction in other fields of labor as to make their names of interest to the readers of these notices.

The governors of the state were members ex officio & presidents of the board of Regents from 1837 to 1852. The first governor, Stevens T. Mason, deserves a notice specially on account of one act. Mr. Mason, having been territorial secretary, became acting governor by the death of governor Porter. Occupying this place in 1836, he was elected governor & reelected in 1838. At the time of his election he was but twenty-seven years of age. In April 1839 the legislature passed a bill, which, had it become a law, might have resulted in relinquishing the university lands to actual settlers and killing the institution in embryo. The governor

returned the bill with his veto, accompanied with such statements of what would follow should it become a law that no further legislative action upon it was attempted. Mr. Mason removed to New York there to engage in the practice of the profession of law & died in 1843 at the early age of thirty one years.

Isaac E. Crary, Regent by appointment from 1837 to 1843, has been honorably mentioned in my account of his services in the convention which formed the constitution of the state. That notice, together with the statement that he was a graduate of some eastern college & died in 1854 shall suffice in regard to him.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Regent by appointment from 1837 to 1841, is mentioned here chiefly on account of his writings on the history, manners & customs of the North American Indians. No one has ever written so much as he on these tribes & the ability with which he did his work was acknowledged by the government in its large expenditure upon the publication of his great quartos. As Regent Mr. Schoolcraft was chairman of the committee on the Branches. The following passage from his report of 1841, will best state the principle upon which the committee acted. "It was conceived, that the requirement of the act & the duty of the board in this respect would not have been fully performed by merely obtaining instructors of competent literary & natural abilities, disconnected from their moral influence both in the Branches & in the communities in which they are located. And it has ever constituted an object to find men, both as principals & subordinates who united sound learning,

apt judgement & practical piety." Mr. Schoolcraft was born in 1793 & died in 1864. He was educated in Middlebury College, Vermont.

John D. Pierce, Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1837 to 1841 has been noticed in my sketch of the origin of the University. Besides being the chief planner of the system, he had the charge of the lands as to their sale & the investment of the proceeds. He saved the embryo institution by his veto of an architectural scheme which, had it been executed, would have exhausted the fund. The value of his services cannot be exaggerated. Mr. Pierce was a graduate of Brown University. He gave up his pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Marshall to accept the State Superintendency of Education &, after his invaluable services in this position, lived & died in great poverty & in extreme old age at Ypsilanti.

Zina Pitcher, Regent from 1837 to 1852, served the University with rare fidelity & perseverance. He had been a surgeon in the army Of the United States & when stationed in Detroit became attached to the place & resigned rather than leave it. He spent in Detroit the best part of his life in medical practice. His services for the institution touched all its interests & in the establishment of the medical department they were decisive, which was acknowledged by making him professor emeritus in that school. Dr. Pitcher died in Detroit in 1872 at the age of 75 years.

Jonathan Kearsley, Regent from 1838 to 1852, had been of the old board of trustees of the Catholepistemiad, or College of Detroit. He was in the war of 1812 & in the

invasion of Canada lost a leg from above the knee & hobbled around the rest of his life on crutches. He rose in the army to the brevet rank of major & is said on good authority to have been at the time the only man who had ever received a pension for a brevet rank, which was effected by the determination with which he urged his claim. He illustrated this trait in the management both of his own business & his public trusts. He was chairman of the executive committee & had the general oversight of the building at Ann Arbor. Mr. Kearsley was educated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, his native state, at a time when the rules of grammar were given in doggerel Latin rhymes. He generally attended the examinations of the University classes & at three score & ten still repeated these doggerels. I heard him once make the remark to a class, after reciting one of his rules, "if you had learned your rules in that way you could never have forgotten them," to which Professor Williams dryly responded, "I should not like to have such poetry, learned in my boyhood, haunt me all my life." Major Kearsley stood guard over the treasury of the University. He died at an advanced age in 1855.

George Duffield D.D., Regent from 1839 to 1848, was, as indicated elsewhere, the first appointment under the policy of placing prominent clergymen on the governing board. This policy was suggested by the narrow chance of a wreck which the university had already run. Born in 1794 in Lancaster county Pennsylvanis, graduated from the University of that state in 1811, Mr. Duffield belonged to a time when the Latin language was still a medium of instruction in the



colleges & was more or less spoken by the well educated. First in Philadelphia, afterwards in New York, in which latter city he was pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, he was familiar with the management of the colleges of Pennsylvania, New Jersey & New York. His brief statements in the meetings of the Regents generally carried conviction, & were decisive of the points on which they were uttered. To say merely that Dr. Duffield was the most prominent clergyman of his time in Michigan is not doing him justice. He was honored by being involved with Lyman Beecher in the great heresy trial which split the American Presbyterian Church into Old & New Schools, of which latter he shared with Beecher the leadership. It was towards the close of his life that he was invited to revisit the scene of the old conflict & be a party in the remarriage of the divorced sections of this great religious body. Dr. Duffield died in 1868 in the city of Detroit where he had held his longest pastorate.

The policy of appointing prominent clergymen as Regents of the University has before been referred to as having been introduced at a critical period in an early stage of the work. I mention Dr. Duffield as the most distinguished of these, of whom, however, there were many others representing all the leading religious denominations of the state. One Catholic priest, Reverend Martin Kundig, with ministers of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopal & Baptist denominations, were on the early board of Regents. These, together with the clerical members of the early faculty, by their greater familiarity with college work, &

by their influence with the religious bodies which they represented, were a decisive force in the early history of the institution.

In my second chapter were indicated some steps preparatory to the founding of a university & in my thirty-second were named some of the men who were active in these steps. These men deserve some notice here, although, so far as the actual establishment of the present institution is concerned, they may perhaps be regarded as prehistoric persons. I have sketched the beginnings of the colony at the mouth of the Muskingum in southeastern Ohio & the congressional legislation known as the Ordinance of 1787 which prepared the way for the settlement of the Old Northwest. I think I made it clear that the provision for schools in the Ordinance proved well nigh a failure in the Ohio colony, but we saw that men from that colony were transferred to Michigan, where they become the ruling power, prepared for their places by lessons learned from the experiment in Ohio. I shall but need to name the men & the reader will perceive what was their influence in Michigan. From the New England Ohio settlement came Lewis Cass, William Woodbridge, & the brothers Austin E. & Warner Wing. We shall learn, as we come to sketch them, what positions these men occupied.

The colony on the Muskingum had won such a name for intelligence & virtue that it early became known in foreign lands for these traits, in illustration of which it will suffice to mention the case of Harman Blennerhasset, an Irish gentleman, who then just married, attracted by the fame of this settlement crossed the Atlantic with his

accomplished wife, & made his way over the rough road of the Alleghanies in 1797 to spend his life here in the quiet of scientific & literary pursuits. This family passed their first winter at Marietta & then purchased a wooded island in the Ohio near by & built upon it the finest mansion west of the mountains. In this, surrounded with all the charms with which nature & art could invest a home, they were enjoying life when Aaron Burr, swelling with his treasonable ideas of an empire in the great west, found & ruined them by drawing them into his scheme. The four men named as transferred from this noted colony to leading positions in the development of the Peninsular state will here be briefly sketched.

Lewis Cass was sent by President Madison in 1813 to succeed General Hull as governor of the territory, & occupied the place till 1831, when he became Secretary of War. In 1836 he was sent as minister to France, whence he returned in 1842, after which he was most of the time to 1861 either in the senate of the United States, or of the head of the state department in Washington. In 1848 he was the democratic candidate for the presidency, but General Taylor, the opposing candidate was elected. I feel quite safe in affirming that the commencement of this year was the only one he ever attended. He walked home with Professor Williams & myself, for I was at the time taking my meals with this professor, my family then being in New York, and dined with us in private. His conversation, as I well remember was chiefly of a visit he had made to the Orient, which had been sketched in some popular letters written by him & published. That General

Cass's name is so little seen in the history of the university is explained by the fact that he was seldom long at home in Michigan after he first entered the higher service of the Government in 1831. He had been active, if not chief, in the original movement for the College of Detroit, & in the later efforts to secure the necessary land-grants, one of which he directly effected in the reservation of the treaty of Fort Meigs, which he negotiated with the Indians in 1817. General Cass was a man of strictest integrity & morals in general. He often delivered temperance addresses, in one of which I heard him declare that he had never tasted of ardent spirits. Born in New Hampshire in 1782, he died in Detroit in 1866.

William Woodbridge who at eleven years of age was brought by his parents to the settlement on the Muskingum, was appointed by President Madison in 1814 as secretary of the Territory of Michigan. In 1819 to 1821 he was the territorial delegate in congress. Mr. Woodbridge was active in securing the land-grants. In 1840 he was elected governor of the state, & his administration but just entered upon, was sent to the senate of the United States. He died in 1861.

Austin E. Wing of the New England Ohio colony was on the old board from 1821 to 1837, & there was no man on that board whose action was more constant & efficient in the work of securing the land-grants & in the choice of the lands when the grants had been made. He was Michigan's delegate in congress from 1828 to 1832. Mr. Wing was graduated from an eastern college, Williams, I think. He was Regent by appointment of the present university from 1845 to 1850. His younger

brother, Warner Wing, as one of the justices of the Supreme court, was Regent ex officio from 1845 to 1852.

It will be in place here to notice another element in our system of higher education transferred to Michigan from Southeastern Ohio. In the year 1790 a colony of about five hundred French people, chiefly Parisians, established themselves near the Muskingum settlement, of which they were guests for a time until their log-village of Gallipolis could be made ready to receive them. They had been cheated. The lands of which they had negotiated the purchase from Joel Barlow in Paris, did not belong to the company which sold them. By a gift of 24,000 acres of land Congress relieved them, after they had long suffered the ills of a wilderness life for which their experience in the French capital had not prepared them, but the final issue was that not a few of them left for other parts, among whom was Peter Desnoyers, who first went to Pittsburg & in 1796 to Detroit where he spent the remainder of a long & active life. He held, among other official positions, that of treasurer of the territorial government. He was a member of the convention held in Ann Arbor which prepared the way for Michigan's admission into the Union. But the position held by him to which I desire to refer is that of trustee of the Catholepistemiad, or College of Detroit, which had the administration of the grants of land for the University. In 1831 he voted with Dr. Brown against the exchange of the Toledo lands & again in 1834 he & General John R. Williams voted against the resolution which closed up that disastrous series of transactions. The wisdom shown in this vote ought to secure

for him a brief notice in this series of sketches; but the material for such a notice is scanty. Mr. Sheldon, indeed, (Early History of Michigan page 386) gives Peter Desnoyers' own statement officially made, that he was of the Gallipolis settlement & came to Detroit in 1796, & I have heard the same from those who had known him as of that colony. That he had acquired there a knowledge of the legislation & the educational plan for the Northwest is a natural supposition & that he made so good a use of this experience is pleasant for us to bear in mind. (In my American State Universities, page 287, I have given this trustee the name of I. J. Desnoyers; but having examined the notices in Farmer's History of Detroit & Mrs. Hamlin's genealogy of the family in an appendix to her Legends of Detroit, I am now satisfied that he was the same who emigrated from Eastern Ohio to Pittsburg & settled in Detroit in 1796. The confusion has occurred from the name having been first written Pierre Jean, again Peter & then P. J., the P having been at some time so written as to be mistaken for an I, & so handed down.)

In connection with the name of this family it will perhaps not be out of place to indicate the condition of the French people in regard to education. A single quotation from the Detroit Gazette of August 8th, 1817 will answer this purpose. At this time there was but this one newspaper in Detroit & this was divided between the French & English languages, in order that all those who could read either language might enjoy it. This, too, was the year of the establishment of the Catholepistemiad & of a general waking up on the subject of education. Under the date mentioned

the following paragraph was addressed to the French people of the town:

"Frenchmen of the Territory of Michigan! You ought to begin immediately to give an education to your children. In a little time there will be in this Territory as many Yankees as French, & if you do not have your children educated, the situations will all be given to the Yankees. No man is capable of serving as either a civil or a military officer unless he can at least read & write. There are many young people of eighteen to twenty years, who have not yet learned to read; but they are not yet too old to learn. I have known those who have learned to read at forty years of age." (François du Territoire de Michigan! Vous devriez commencer immédiatement à donner une éducation à vos enfans. Dans peu de temps il y aura dans ce Territoire autant de Yankees que de Français, et si vous ne faites pas instruire vos enfans, tous les emplois seront donnés aux Yankees. Aucun homme n'est capable d'être officier civil et militaire à moins qu'il ne sache lire et écrire. Il y a plusieurs jeunes gens de 18 à 20 ans, que n'ont pas encore appris à lire, mais ils ne sont pas trop vieux pour apprendre. J'en ai connu que ont appris à lire à l'âge de 40 ans.)

George P. Williams was the first man appointed as an instructor in connection with the new university system, first in 1837 as principal of the branch at Pontiac. Mr. Williams was born at Woostock, Vermont in 1802. He was graduated at the University of Vermont in 1825 & afterwards passed one year at the Theological Seminary at Andover. From 1823 to 1831 he was tutor in Kenyon College, Ohio; from 1831 to 1834

he was professor of language in the Western University of Pennsylvania at Pittsburg, & from 1834 to 1837 he was again at Kenyon College, from which time to 1841 he was at the head of the Pontiac branch of the University. Mr. Williams was transferred to the Central School at Ann Arbor at its opening in 1841, & retained his connection with it to his retirement in 1875 & as Emeritus Professor to his death in 1881. His chair was part of the time that of mathematics & again that of physics. Dr. Williams, for the degree of LS.D. was conferred upon him near the close of the fifth decade of the century, was a member of the Protestant Episcopal church, & was always in the spirit of its clergy, but was not ordained to its diaconate until he had reached the age of forty-five years. He served at one time for more than a year as rector of St. Andrew's Church in this city & by a donation of his salary relieved the church of a debt. From his long connection with the University & his having been of the first faculty, he has been regarded as a kind of father to its corps of instruction. A memorial address by Judge Campbell on the death of Dr. Williams will be found in the Coll. P. & H. Soc. Vol. VI.

Joseph Whiting, transferred to the central institution from the branch at Niles at the same time with Mr. Williams from that of Pontiac, was a graduate of Yale College. Mr. Whiting was a minister of the Presbyterian Church & had been for a short time a pastor, I think in Western New York. He was president of the faculty in 1844-5, but died just before the commencement at which he would have presided, July 20th 1845. This event caused some of the saddest days that the



young institution ever experienced. A cenotaph was erected by the Regents on the University Campus, bearing an elaborate Latin inscription made out, as I suppose, by Dr. Duffield & Major Kearsley.

In connection with the foregoing notice it may be observed that tablets on the other three sides of the monument erected for Professor Whiting are occupied with Latin inscriptions in memory of Douglass Houghton, Charles Fox & Samuel Denton.

Dr. Houghton was elected professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy & Geology in 1839 & occupied the place nominally, but without rendering service or receiving pay, until 1845, being employed in the mean time with the geological survey of the state. In 1844, when instruction in his department was demanded, his relative, Dr. Silas H. Douglass was employed to render the service for one year. In 1845 Dr. Houghton resigned his place & on the 13th of October of the same year was drowned in Lake Superior while prosecuting the survey of the Upper Peninsula. His notes of the survey with which he had been for several years occupied, were not left in such condition that they could be given to the public.

Mr. Fox, the professor of Agriculture, died the year of his election. The department had no existence before nor after him & is, therefore, as though it had never been established. The incumbent elect was an Episcopal clergyman.

Samuel Denton, a practicing physician in Ann Arbor, was the first professor of the practice of Medicine in the University, serving from the opening of the school in 1850 to his death in 1860.

Abram Sager M.D. was elected Professor of Botany & Zoology in 1842. He had then already done much towards a zoological collection for the University, especially in ornithology, but he did not enter upon duty as an instructor until 1846. On the establishment of the Medical School in 1850 he was transferred to that department. He was long dean of the Medical faculty & on his retirement from active service in 1874 he still retained his deanship & his name remained on the catalogue as Professor Emeritus.

James R. Boise, LL.D. was professor of the Greek language & literature in Brown University in Providence Rhode Island at the time of his election in 1852 to his position in the University of Michigan. In 1868 he resigned to accept a place in the University of Chicago. Few men in the country have done so much as Professor Boise to promote an exact knowledge of the Greek language. Dr. Boise was to the day of his death, February 9th 1895, in nominal connection with the Theological School of the University of Chicago, in which he had been active until about three years ago. He was an alumnus of Brown University & a minister in the Baptist denomination. He was born in January 1815. He completed his eightieth year a few days before his death.

J. Holmes Agnew D.D. was called in 1845 to professorship of the Greek & Latin Languages, but personally taught only Greek, & remained in the place until 1852. He had once been professor in the University of Missouri. At the time of his call to Michigan he was editing a quarterly review in New York city. He was a minister of the Presbyterian Church. Dr. Agnew died in 1865.

Daniel D. Whedon D.D. served as professor of logic, rhetoric & history from 1845 to 1852. Dr. Whedon had been professor of the Latin & Greek languages in Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, & for a time acting president of that institution. He has written much & ably. From 1852 to near the time of his death he was editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review in New York. He died in Brooklyn N.Y. in 1885.

Edward Olney LL.D. was professor of mathematics from 1863 to his death in 1887. His series of Mathematical textbooks was very extensively adopted in American colleges. His religious & moral influence was of the best kind & largest extent. It has left enduring monuments in the Baptist Church in Ann Arbor & in Kalamazoo College.

Louis Fasquelle was professor of the French Language from 1846 to 1862, the date of his death. The style of his professorship was at first that of the modern languages; but he taught only French. He was born near Calais, in France in 1808, pursued his studies in Paris & in some German university, taught for some time in England, married there & emigrated to America in 1834 (1832?). He purchased a farm in the interior of Michigan & divided his time between the care of it & giving private lessons, chiefly in Detroit, until 1846. His authorship of works for the study of the French language made him known throughout the entire country. Few men used the English language with greater verbal accuracy than he & yet he always retained his French accent, which gave rise to many an anecdote. He said of himself, "I understand English very well, but I dont get the emphasis right." Once

on visiting Washington he was introduced to Mr. Webster & made the following report of the interview:- "Mr. Webster attempted to speak French & I was disgusted with him; his pronunciation was ridiculous."

Francis Bruennow was professor of astronomy & director of the observatory from 1854 to 1863, except during his absence in 1860. The measures taken by President Tappan for getting up an astronomical observatory & placing it under so competent direction should ever be set down to his credit. There is the more reason why Professor Bruennow should be noticed here, that, either from the quiet course of his life, or from the division of his citizenship among so many lands he has been dropped out of sight. I have in vain sought a notice of him in the encyclopedias. Neither Appleton, nor the omniverous Brockhaus names him, & yet the distinguished Encke pronounced his *Le hrbuch der Sphoerischen Astronomie*, first published in 1851 'a fortunate supply of a long existing desideratum.' A translation was published in England in 1860. A new edition of the original was published in 1862. He was the author of other works perhaps equally worthy of note. Dr. Bruennow married President Tappan's daughter & with his family retired on the removal of his father-in-law from the presidency in 1863. He was afterwards director of the Royal Observatory in Dublin, Ireland. On giving up his place in Dublin, he retired, I think, to Switzerland, & died in August 1891 at Heidelberg in the Grand-duchy of Baden, where his son was in academic service. Dr. Bruennow was probably a citizen successively in five countries,- Prussia, the United States, Great Britain,

Switzerland & the Grand-duchy of Baden, & in his migration from land to land has failed of due notice anywhere. Mr. Bruennow educated a successor who has been more fully appreciated.

James C. Watson, professor of Astronomy & director of the Observatory, except during a short interval, from 1859 to 1879, was born in Canada in 1838, whither his father had removed from Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. When he was a boy of perhaps thirteen the family removed to Michigan & settled in Ann Arbor. The settlement here was accidental. The family stopped because they had no means to take them further, or to pay for their breakfast the morning after their arrival. They were sent to Enoch Terhune, who then had a machine shop in the place, with the hope that he would give the father employment. He fed them, gave them an unfinished loft in his building, in which they opened their single box of goods, obtained straw for their beds, & there ensconced themselves. Mr. Terhune soon lost his engineer. Little James, by a glance into engine, understood it, & said he could run it, & he did so. He found a university here, got books, studied them while he ran his engine, recited to a student in the evenings & so prepared to enter the institution. He graduated & was made an assistant at eighteen years of age. At twenty three he was full professor. Such is the abridged story of Mr. Watson's scholastic education.

Professor Watson discovered twenty-three planetoids & two comets. Two more planetoids he had, indeed, discovered independently, in which, however, he was afterwards found to

have been anticipated by European astronomers. In 1869 he was sent by the government of the United States in charge of the expedition to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, to observe the total eclipse of the sun; in 1870 he was placed in charge of a like expedition to Carlentina, Sicily, & in 1874 he was in like manner sent to Peking, China, to observe the transit of Venus. His most noted & last discovery was that made in Wyoming in July 1878 of the existence of one & probably two intermercurial planetoids.

Professor Watson's honorary recognitions are in general as follows:- he "was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences in 1867, of the American Philosophical Society in 1877, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Catania, Italy, in 1870. For his discovery of asteroids he received in 1870 the gold medal of the French Academy of Sciences. In 1875, when returning from China, he received from the Khedive of Egypt the decoration of Knight Commander of the Imperial Order of Medjidieh of Turkey & Egypt. He was appointed Judge of Awards in the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. He received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig in 1870 & from Yale College in 1871. In 1877 Columbia College conferred upon him the degree of LL.D." (C.K. Adams in Ann Arbor Register of Nov. 24th 1880.)

As an author, he produced a work on Comets, Philadelphia 1860, a Theoretical Astronomy, Philadelphia & London, 1868, & a report on Horological Instruments. He was a contributor to Astronomical Journals in this country & in England, France, Germany & Italy.

Those who keep any track of the progress of science

have a general idea of Mr. Watson's rank in it. People often, however, feel an interest in knowing some trifling, or ludicrous incidents in such a life. These might be multiplied to almost any extent. I select from the trip up to Peking, China, from the sea-board. The company, twelve to fifteen in number, were to travel on donkies. Mr. Watson was from his boyhood chubby & very heavy, so that the students' nickname for him was "Tubby Watson." When the animals for the company were brought out, Watson protested that his could not carry him; but he had to give in & make the trial. At length it became the donkey's turn to protest, which it could do in no other way than by unloading the rider in the dirt of the road. All knew of course that the Professor was not injured & they burst into a boisterous laugh, which Mr. Watson, knowing her husband's sensitiveness to any merriment that might seem to relate to his chubby form, arrested by a gesture. They then got him up, brushed him as well as they could, placed him on another animal & proceeded. The chief of the astronomical party had incurred from his weight a greater danger in descending from shipboard in Japan. Instead of stepping from the foot of the ladder into the skiff which danced up & down with the waves, when the step would have been but a foot, he hesitated until the distance was about four feet & then came down with such a momentum as to break through the inner bottom of the skiff. The Japanese swam like fishes & would have saved him had he broken through the whole; but such a necessity was averted.

On donkies & in carts - for it was in carts that this

party returned from Peking - the Chinese now travel. A thousand years before the birth of Christ their land-travel was by as good vehicles as those now in use & guided by an instrument on the principle of our mariner's compass, which was not known in Europe earlier than the 12th century of our era. The Chinese women, dressing so as to make this convenient, bestride the animal as do the men; but a side-saddle was somewhere found for Mrs. Watson, the only lady of the company. In Japan the party traveled by the jinrick-ashaw, the invention of Reverend Jonathan Goble, the first American Baptist missionary in that country.

Had Mr. Watson lived, the government would have sent him in 1882 on another tour of astronomical observation; but that was not to be. Called to the University of Wisconsin in 1879, & allowed there the direction in building & conducting the Washburn Observatory, he labored for a year in getting up arrangements by which he felt sure that he should still discover another planet beyond the orbit of Neptune. But his preparation for work was yet incomplete when in November 1880 he was taken ill with congestion of the bladder & on the 23rd of that month he died at the early age of forty-two years & some months, & the heavenly bodies which he felt so sure of discovering remain still unknown for want of the genius which had expired in him.

Henry S. Frieze LL.D. a graduate of Brown University, was Professor of the Latin Language & Literature from 1854 until his death in 1889, then about seventy three years of age. Mr. Frieze was quite perfect in his department of instruction. In music he might have taken the highest rank



as a performer on the piano & organ, & his taste in the fine arts generally was exquisite, which led to his being made curator of the art collection of the university. He was acting president at two different periods, that is, between the retirement of Mr. Haven & the entrance upon office of Mr. Angell, & during the latter's absence as Minister to China.

Benjamin Franklin Cocker D.D. LL.D., professor of moral & Mental Philosophy from 1869 to 1881, was born in Yorkshire England, whence he went with his family in 1850 to engage in mercantile pursuits in Australia. His operations were large, but in the end unsuccessful, & he set out for America. During a visit to the missionaries on a cannibal island of the Southern ocean he narrowly escaped falling a prey to the appetites of the natives. He was probably saved by his leanness. On his way up the Mississippi he had to sell the clothing of himself & family to pay his passage through to Adrian, Michigan, where he hoped to find friends. Not long before reaching that city, a sick child died on the cars in the arms of its mother. This was in 1857. The people were not slow to discover his ability as a preacher of the Gospel & he was soon placed above want. The Methodist Conference sent him from one to the other of its three prominent cities until 1869, when he was elected to his place in the university. He published in 1870 a work entitled "Christianity & the Greek Philosophy" & later another with the title "Theistic Conceptions of the World." He died in 1883.

Alexander Winchell, LL.D., born December 21st 1824,

was educated at the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, had taught in New York, New Jersey & Alabama before his election in 1854 to the Professorship of Physics in the University of Michigan. In 1855 he was transferred to the professorship of Geology, Zoology & Botany. At the time of his death, February 19th 1891, he was Professor of Geology & Paleontology. During this period some changes took place in his positions. In 1873 he was made chancellor of the University at Syracuse, N.Y., but returned thence to resume his old place in Michigan in 1879. He traveled extensively, delivering lectures to popular audiences, generally on questions of his scientific studies. He delivered also courses of lectures at other institutions, as at the Transylvania University in Kentucky & Madison University N.Y. Dr. Winchell was a voluminous writer on the subjects of his scientific inquiries. He had for some years the charge of the geological survey of Michigan, of which he made his annual reports.

George S. Morris, Ph.D., a graduate of Dartmouth college, became in 1870, then quite a young man, Professor of Modern languages in the University. In 1879 he accepted a place in the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, but returned to Michigan as Professor of Ethics, History of Philosophy & Logic in 1881, head of the department of Philosophy in 1883, and died in this position in 1889. He had already contributed much to Metaphysical literature, & much more might justly have been expected of him had his life been spared.

For notices of the two deceased presidents, the reader

is referred to the accounts given of their respective administrations.

The professional schools have been noticed so far as notices of them fall in with my purpose; but there remain a few men whose connection with their early history has been such as to demand an insertion of their names in this list. Of the Medical School the names of Palmer & Ford are worthy of special record. These two men & Dr. Sager have stood to the Medical Department of the University in a more paternal relation than any others.

Alonzo B. Palmer, was elected Professor of Anatomy in 1852 but did not enter upon duty until 1854 & then in another chair than that to which he had at first been assigned. In the course of his career from 1852 to his death in 1887, he passed through almost the entire range of the subjects of instruction in the department; but from 1864 to 1880 Pathology & the Practice of Medicine were embraced in his lecture course. Mrs. Palmer, after her husband's death, prepared a volume for private circulation in memory of him, with a preface by Professor Frieze. The most noteworthy feature & indeed the greatest part of this volume, is made up of Dr. Palmer's Diary kept of a European tour, of the year 1859. This visit was made chiefly in the interests of Medical & Sanitary science. The diary notes chiefly the condition of the Medical profession in England & Scotland. Dr. Palmer was President of the Section on Pathology of the American Medical Association which met in Washington in 1887. Born in Central New York in 1815, he died in Ann Arbor in 1887.

Corydon L. Ford, Professor of Anatomy, with some changes in interruptions, from 1854 to his death in 1894, was deemed the perfection of a lecturer on Human & Comparative Anatomy & Physiology. He did not practice medicine, or perform other labor to any considerable extent outside the field indicated by the style of his professorship. He was at his death in his 81st year. He accumulated something of a fortune. In 1894 the Dr. Ford estate was highest on the tax-list of the city. He left \$20,000 dollars to the university library. The university board conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. on Professors Palmer & Ford, not so much, indeed, for their general learning outside their respective provinces of study as for their patriarchal relation to the Medical School.

The opening of the Law School was noticed in its place, so far as my purpose required; but the three men who opened & long served this school, one of them is still living, though in retirement, call for brief sketches. These three men, I give them by anticipation their future titles, were James V. Campbell LL.D., Charles I. Walker LL.D. & Thomas M. Cooley LL.D., were elected together in 1859. Messrs. Campbell & Cooley were long on the bench of the Supreme Court; Mr. Walker also held at one time a position in the judiciary.

Mr. Campbell, by successive elections held his place on the bench of the Supreme Court to his death in 1890, that is, somewhat more than thirty years, which shows the estimation in which he was held. Outside of his judicial labors, he has contributed somewhat to literature, his most important

work probably being his Political History of Michigan, one volume 8 vo. Detroit, 1876.

Mr. Walker's life has been chiefly that of a lawyer in the city of Detroit. He has studied much the history of the Northwest & made some contributions to it. He died February 11th 1895.

Mr. Cooley's life has been prolific in legal & judicial literature. In the interpretation of constitutional law he entered a field which had probably not been so effectually covered by any other writer. He has written also a brief History of Michigan, forming one of the volumes of the American Commonwealths of Houghton Mifflin & Company. Judge Cooley was for some years, until the state of his health compelled his retirement, at the head of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Andrew D. White, LL.D., is a name which should not be omitted in this list. Mr. White, a graduate of Yale College, was Professor of History in the University from 1857 to 1867. Before his election to his place here he had been in the diplomatic service as Secretary of our legation at St. Petersburg. At a latter day he represented our government as Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin. Mr. White's educational work has been chiefly done in the state of New York. In the senate of that state he was instrumental in bringing about the legislation which established Cornell University, of which institution he was the first President. He has been for many years in retirement so far as any public position is concerned, but has been active in literature.

Alpheus Felch, born September 28th 1804 in the state of

Maine & graduated at Bowdoin College in that state, settled at Monroe, Michigan in 1835. He was in the first legislature of the state, that which enacted the organic law of the University & is doubtless its only survivor. His public services have been large & varied. He has been on the bench of our highest court, governor of the state, has served a term in the United States Senate, at the close of which he was sent to California by President Polk, as head of a commission to settle land-claims, chiefly those connected with the old Franciscan missions under Spanish rule. Mr. Felch removed to Ann Arbor in 1843 which has been the home of his family since. From the close of his work in the California commission he has been at home in this place, for some years in the practice of law, a part of the time a professor in the University Law School, but now for many years in complete retirement from professional service, still, however, active in several branches of inquiry, chiefly relating to the history of Michigan & the Northwest. He is now President of the Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society. The interest which he has shown in the public school system is well exemplified in an executive act of 1846 when he was governor. The incident illustrates the hair-breadth escapes which our school fund has made.

Detroit being at that time still the capital, the question was then to be settled as to where the capital should be permanently fixed. It had been hinted that it would be a good thing for the school fund to establish the capital on a school section of wild land. Such was the place where the city of Lansing has since been built.

Governor Felch, thinking that land speculators might anticipate this decision & enter this action for purchase, sent, as he had by law a right to do, a message to the land-office at Marshall, withdrawing this section from entrance for purchase. The train which carried his messenger carried also two men who intended to purchase the land. The train was delayed & did not reach Marshall until after the office had been closed, but the message was delivered in the evening at the residence of the commissioner of the office. The speculators were on hand at the opening of the office in the morning, but the detention of the train had defeated their plan.

There remain yet three names without which this roll would be quite incomplete. The reader may criticise the order in which I place them & wonder why they do not stand first, to which criticism I have no reply to make except that the placing of the names here may bring the beginning & the present of the University in happier contrast than the appearance of all the names in the actual order of the evolution would have done.

Gabriel Richard (pronounced Reeshár) arrived at Detroit in June 1798, where he remained, exercising not only priestly but episcopal functions as Vicar General most of the time to his death in 1832. He was a remarkable man & has had a unique history. When the people were nearly all French Catholics he was of course the chief personage of the town, & scarcely less can be said of his position after Protestants were multiplied around him. Such was his benevolence & so sanguine was he of being able to meet all the demands into

which this impulse allured him, that he never could pay his debts & sometimes only escaped imprisonment for debt by being bailed out & remaining within the limits described by the then existing law. He issued scrip in 1819 for the building of St. Anne's Church, his scrip was counterfeited by one of his contractors & Father Richard had redeemed the spurious scrip, as he was able, perhaps before the counterfeit was detected; but there was a limit to his means & he had to refuse payment.

In 1817 the College of Detroit opened & he was associated with Mr. Monteith, the then newly called Pastor of the Presbyterian (known as the First Protestant) Church in the school work. Father Richard served two terms as Territorial delegate to Congress.

In the want of any Protestant preaching in Detroit, the leading Protestant people of the place arranged with him for a time to deliver to them a discourse each Sunday at noon at the council house, which he did with all fidelity, omitting such services as were not likely to be acceptable to Protestant ears. He was called upon sometimes to open with prayer the sessions of the Legislative Council & once offered before that body a prayer a passage in which has descended traditionally to our day; somewhat thus, for he never spoke well the English language: "O Lord, bless dees legislateef counseel an enable dem to legislate for de peopl & not for demselfs." (The late Chancellor Farnsworth told me that he heard this prayer.)

A somewhat singular circumstance led to his spending his life in Detroit. After the fire which consumed the



town in June 1805, Father Richard's brethren of the Order of St. Sulpitius wrote him, requesting his return to France & he announced in his place of temporary meeting his intention to obey their wishes. But a calumny was invented against him, he was consequently thrown into prison & his detention in confinement caused the abandonment of the thought of a return to his native land.

Born in Saintes, France in 1764, Father Richard came to Baltimore in 1792, thence to Detroit as above indicated in 1798, & there lived the kind of life indicated in the foregoing paragraphs until 1832. This was the year of the cholera's first rage in the city of the Straits, in which visitation Father R's sense of duty led him to such laborious and unwearied attention to the sick of his parish that his power of endurance gave way & he died with numbers of those to whose wants he was laboring to minister.

John Monteith, Pastor of the first Protestant Church in Detroit, had just graduated from the Theological Seminary at Princeton, when called in 1817 to his responsible position in Michigan. I have already referred to the relation in which he Father Richard jointly stood to the Catholic episcopate. Many an anecdote could be told of their pleasant personal relations. I give an exemplary one. Soon after Mr. Monteith's arrival in Detroit, Father Richard called at his boarding-place & was invited to remain at tea, which he did. Mr. Monteith asked him to say grace at the table, to which he replied that he was accustomed to this service only in the Latin language & would so render it if agreeable. The Presbyterian, deeming it more appropriate that a language

intelligible to the whole party should be used, performed the service himself.

It would be difficult to overestimate the services of Mr. Monteith in Detroit as preacher, teacher & member of the board of Trustees of the infant college, for he & Father Richard both belonged to the board. Mr. Monteith returned to the east & was Professor of the ancient languages in Hamilton College. He finally, however, came back to the west and spent his last years preaching in the yet comparative wilderness of southeastern Michigan. He left in manuscript a very interesting account of his journey to Detroit & early labors there. Some twenty years ago I had this in my hands for a time & made some use of it in preparing my work on American State Universities. Of his later life I have but a hearsay account, which may not be trustworthy.

Martin Kundig, to whom I have before referred as of the Catholic priesthood & a Regent of the University, is first prominently mentioned in the history of Detroit in the year 1834. He may have been settled there soon after Father Richard's death. In the summer of 1834 the cholera prevailed still more violently than in 1832. In describing this visitation, Former employs in regard to Mr. Kundig the following language:-

"Tall, strong, brave Father Kundig outshone & outdid all others by his tireless devotion to the sick & the dying. Soon after the Cholera made its appearance, Father Kundig bought the old Presbyterian Church at the corner of Bates Street & Michigan Grand Avenue & divided it into two apartments for male & female patients respectively. Out of

four rows of pews every second one was removed & his hospital was ready. A one-horse ambulance was then prepared & morning after morning, night after night, he went here & there, gathering in the sick & taking them to the refuge which combined sanctuary & hospital. He was so much among the patients that he was avoided on the streets lest he should spread the contagion. Dying patients, as they passed away, committed their children to his care, & the trust was faithfully administered. The legislature, on March 18th 1837, voted him \$3,000 in acknowledgment of his services, but as shown elsewhere, he was never fully reimbursed for the expense he incurred."

This is the only instance in which legislative action in the state has ever made such an appropriation. The emergency had come suddenly upon the place & if individual enterprize had not met the demand it would not have been met at all. Every one was satisfied that no city organization could have done the work so well & that the appropriation was just or rather that it fell short of justice. It was doubtless the spirit & aptness of Mr. Kundig in this movement that led to the making of a contract with him for the care of the county poor. He first contracted to do this at sixteen cents a day for each person, afterwards at twenty-two cents a day. But under both contracts he lost money, as he was obliged to receive in payment warrants which were at 40 to 60 per cent discount.

Father Kundig's life in Detroit was of this kind & it so embarrassed him that his personal property was sold at auction to meet the demands against him. As a member of the

board of Regents he acted in cordial harmony with the body.

Father Kundig left Detroit for Wisconsin after a residence of about ten years. The circumstances are of interest. In 1842, Dr. Houghton, already at that time under appointment to a professorship in the University just opened at Ann Arbor, was nominated by the democrats for the mayoralty of the city. He was at the time away from the place & not accessible by correspondence. His friend, Dr. Pitcher, though himself a whig, ventured to pledge him to the policy of establishing a school system for the city. Dr. Houghton might not have had the courage to make this pledge; but having been elected on it, felt bound to keep it. Mr. Kundig's position & popularity made him the best agency that could be employed to effect the election. He doubtless acted on the supposition, whether on the suggestion of politicians, we may not know, that, the system being established, the fund would be divided & the Catholics would share it according to the ratio of their numbers. His labors effected the election; the present system of city schools was established; but when the question of dividing the fund came to the test of a vote, the majority against this was a very decisive one, & Mr. Kundig soon left for the further west, whether self-moved, or under the direction of ecclesiastical superiors I shall not attempt to speculate.

Dr. Pitcher, the last time I ever saw him, related to me with no small show of satisfaction, the story of his own part in persuading Dr. Houghton & Mr. Kundig to assume their respective positions in establishing the present school system in Detroit.

## LIII. CALVINIST &amp; CATHOLIC

Nothing is further from my thought than to enter into any polemic view of the relations of Roman Catholics & Protestants; nevertheless, there are grand outline features of the past & the present, involving in them prognostics of the future, which cannot well be omitted.

There was given in Chapter VIII a brief indication of the nationalities which entered into the formation of the British colonies on our Atlantic coast & finally into that of our Republic as also a view of the political & religious ideas which had separated them from the main conservative body or bodies of their several trans-Atlantic peoples. Recurring now to that historic point, let it be remembered that not only the dissenter's from Europe's old regime, but the religious & political conservatives also settled colonies on this wilderness continent, & that, too, nearly a century in advance of those of England & Holland. France on the north & west & both France & Spain on the South, had early established a line of fortifications extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi & thence eastward to the Atlantic coast of Florida. The great explorer, LaSalle, with a scope of political vision not inferior to that of Alexander the Great or Napoleon, had selected in what is now the State of Illinois & near the point on which has recently sprung up the largest of our interior cities, a site for the capital of the French American Empire. The work was begun. The French colonists & the allied Indian tribes were to have their central city here, midway between the mouth of the St. Lawrence & that

of the Mississippi, the empire to be of unknown limits northward, westward & southward, & soon to stow away in its capacious maw the feeble British colonies on the Atlantic coast.

It turned out, however, otherwise. Louis the Great, by his persistent efforts at religious uniformity & royal autocracy, so exhausted his own resources & so augmented those of his enemies that he failed in the contest at home & prepared the way for his weaker great-grandson & successor, to lose his last foothold on the American continent. This was the issue of the battle fought between Montcalm & Wolfe at Quebec in October 1759. It was a little more than a score of years later that Great Britain, too, lost most of her American colonies, & most of those lying south of the line of lakes became a Republic under the style of the United States of America. How the Territory, known as the Old Northwest became a part of this new Republic I have already indicated in Chapter I.

The process of further acquisition, by which the Republic has finally reached the Pacific, the Gulfs of Mexico & California & the north bank of the Rio Grande, I shall not follow. My purpose is simply to indicate the peaceful meeting on the line of the lakes & in the Valley of the Father of Waters of a people whose ancestors had begun two centuries earlier to separate in the politico-religious upheavals & enmities of France.

The Great Louis had taken a fatherly interest in his faithful children who were settled along this extensive line of fortresses. Many, if not most of them had at first come without wives. To supply this want he sent over cargoes of

girls to be kept in the markets of Quebec & New Orleans, subject to call. It is interesting to follow in thought the forester of the upper lakes setting out in his canoe for a journey of a couple of months down the St. Lawrence, or the Mississippi & returning to his cabin with her who was to be its ornament & mistress. What the lady abbess in Quebec humorously said of a cargo consigned to her - 'that they were mixed goods' - was probably true of most of the girls thus shipped. Some demoiselles were, indeed, sent with reference to the officers; but the most were of an inferior quality. We learn that the first consignment to New Orleans was taken up so quickly as to suggest that a cargo gathered from the houses of correction would find a ready market, some of which latter, however, are said to have remained for a time on hand.

In the course of these sketches we have had instances of the westward rolling culture wave reaching the old French settlements. In the brief notice of Colonel Clark's conquest of the Northwest we saw this officer aided by the missionary, Father Gibault, in the carrying out of his plan of campaign. Indeed, this Priest and the Spanish trader, Vigo, were his most efficient auxiliaries. We found impressive illustrations of the same amicable spirit among those who wrought together in the founding in Detroit of the school which we have kept before us as our central object in the foregoing series of pictures. There was an instance nearer our little city than the founders of the Catholepistemiad. In Washtenaw county on the banks of the beautiful Huron, on which has risen the architectural structures where now gather the

nearly three thousand students of our university, a French Catholic, Gabriel Godfroy, had established his trading-house fifteen years before Allen & Rumsey first lodged under their sled-box among the bur-oaks that covered this plain. Meetings of this kind have been multiplied since the period of our Revolution, all along the line of the French & Spanish settlements & fortifications which originally enclosed the American British colonies on the north, west & south.

It pains me somewhat to imagine that I hear some readers growling out that these meetings have not always been so very amicable, & I must here admit that since the days when John Monteith & Gabriel Richard labored so peacefully together in the early school in Detroit, which formed the beginning of the University, & since those later ones when Martin Kundig sat in the board of Regents of the new University, grave questions relating to schools have been agitated between Protestants & Catholics. The use of the Bible & religious teaching in general in the schools & the distribution of the school fund, are questions which have caused irritating debate; but the contests have all been bloodless, they will be so hereafter & will finally give way to a more general cooperation of all Christians in the moral reforms with which the great Christian body is moving forward. Conflict is, indeed, wholesome. It is the sure way to ultimate truth. It is the only way of escape from stagnation. And, indeed, I cannot think that those who are not gratefully cognizant of what Providence has wrought since the days of Ferdinand I & II in the German Empire, Louis XIV in France & Mary I, Elizabeth & the truculent Stuarts in England, are



at all worthy of that happy condition for which they are contending.

The French people who settled along the lakes & in the Mississippi Valley, form an interesting subject of study. Coming into this wilderness, they settled down in it & in effect forgot the land they had left. Few held any intercourse with the old country & two centuries after their ancestors left France they were still speaking unchanged the language of the age of Louis XIV. This & their habits had become stereotyped. No longer ago than when I came to Detroit - 1841 - the French peasant, more generally the wife, was seen driving the little pony, the harness made up of tow cords & elm bark, a bushel of turnips & two or three sheaves of straw in the tiny cart. I have gone on the Canada side of the river into the wind-mill of an old Frenchman who thought he was carrying on a large business, when there were mills almost in sight of him which would grind in a day more than he would in a year. The western rush has now nearly swallowed up this class in the Mississippi Valley, & this phase of our culture history has had nothing in it which can be called violence, nor need we fear any in the future relations of Calvinist & Catholic, whatever questions of debate may yet arise between them. Firmness in what each deems to be just & submission to the issue should be the motto of each party.

There is something in this steady onward march from the Reformation, not to go further back, the successive stages in which cannot be fairly reviewed & attributed as they must be to an overruling Providence, without profoundly moving

to the emotion which we call the sublime. At times the contestants in Europe, & again in our own forest land, stood balanced, the issue apparently more likely than otherwise to be against the party of progress; but the obstacles have always given way & the advance has moved onward. I note but one of these stages & that only as concerns our own country. It is the one fully entered upon soon after the close of our Revolutionary war, when the people began in earnest to transcend the Alleghanies & fill the Valley of the Mississippi. The foregoing sketches picture this chiefly by a single example; but that, small as is the city itself, exhibits to us perhaps the most marked & peculiar product of the westward rush. It was the first of its kind, to be, doubtless, the model, as it has been the forerunner of others. It illustrates by some personal features which I have touched upon the grandest fact of the westward march - the reunion in peace & amity of those whose ancestors centuries ago had parted in profoundest hostility.

The circumstances of Father Kundig's leaving Detroit may set forth the change of the questions at issue between the two parties, though this change occurred at some places earlier & at others later than in Michigan. In the popular mouth were various speculations as to the cause of his leaving the place. Some thought that he was transferred by Episcopal authority, as a testimony of disapproval of his too free interchange of fraternal civilities with those of the Calvinistic faith; others, that a feeling of disappointment, not to say chagrin, that his failure to effect something towards a division of the school fund, caused him to desire

a transfer to another field. We shall not know which of these reasons, or whether some other one caused his removal. Certain it is, however, that a change of attitude towards each other of the two great parties sundered by the Reformation & colonized in this country was about this time & earlier or later in different parts taking place. I have referred in my first Chapter to friendly relations of the missionary, Father Gibault, with Colonel Clark. It is of interest to know that Father Richard, on his arrival at Baltimore in 1792, was sent by the Bishop to the mission at Kaskaskia & La Prairie du Rocher, where we saw Father Gibault in friendly relations with Colonel Clark, & that he remained there to the time of his transfer in 1798 to Detroit. Such facts will give us an idea of the extent to which we are viewing the whole line of the northern & western French settlements when we study any portion of it.

#### LIV. THEN & NOW - CONCLUSION

Floating straws show the directions of air & water currents &, while I am aware that much that I have introduced into this volume has been but straw as to its intrinsic value, I trust that it has clearly set forth the culture state of the periods passed in review. I have endeavored that the material spread out upon my pages should be just of the kind to picture the existing conditions & witherward tendencies in culture. And now, in looking back over the work, while I am in doubt as to whether a more elevated and philosophic treatment of my matter might not on the whole have been better, I am, nevertheless, satisfied that the familiar trifles introduced into my narrative will enable

the reader more vividly to conceive to himself the social stages described than a more pretentious style could have done. I have endeavored to depict the home life of the east in which our settlers had been brought up & the necessary check which their removal to the forests of Michigan gave to their progress, in order thus to set forth more truthfully & more forcibly the rapidity of their elevation when once the process<sup>had</sup> been entered upon.

Between the aspect of a single family housed under an upturned sled-box, with its extemporized awnings, among the bur-oaks in February 1824, & the architecture of 1895, alive with the bustle of its allied civic & student dwellers, there is a sufficiently impressive contrast. I trust that I have so placed this before the minds of readers that they will have no difficulty in noting the varying views as the panorama is unrolled before them.

These sketches have been offered rather as a type of the whole westward movement from the time that migrating parties began to transcend the Alleghanies, than as a picture of one small locality, & as they set forth a type of what has been, so they are a prognostic of what shall be. Taken all together, they will suggest to the mind the most impressive view that can be taken of American history; & if of American history, then of the world; for we should look in vain for a parallel of such spread of culture over a vast wilderness as that which has covered our great west since the American Revolution. This is what I have endeavored to set forth.

Nor will this ample range of thought be diminished by

returning to our little town & inquiring who they are that mingle in its varied life. I have shown elsewhere somewhat as to the nationalities which made up the early settlement. An account of those whom the schools gather & disperse would, vary the picture. While most of these come from our own states & represent the various elements which entered into the early colonization, the rest of the Christian, Mohammedan & pagan world has been represented. Canada, Mexico, Central & South America & the West Indies have sent hither their youth. Most of the countries of Europe & western Asia have been here represented, while the Empire of Japan has sent us large numbers of its youth & our antipodal China has not remained unrepresented in our streets, halls & houses.

The distribution of those who receive here their training for life's duties, if entered into with any detail, would require a volume or more. As to our own country, it shall suffice to say that our schools have sent their alumni into all the states & that they are in all the professional & official positions, while they are an especial force in the educational work. As to their distribution to foreign lands, it shall suffice to say that there are few regions, Christian, Mohammedan, or pagan whither they have not found their way.

It has been implied throughout these pages that it was accidental, or Providential, rather than otherwise that the University of Michigan became the first great educational institution west of the mountains. I have, indeed, awarded the highest credit to the New England settlers in Southeastern

Ohio in regard to a school system, & need not further dwell upon this point; but it would be unpardonable to omit the mention of earlier & equally meritorious efforts at founding higher centres of learning in Tennessee & Kentucky. In relation to the former, the highest merit should be accorded to the Reverend Samuel Doak for his effort there to reproduce Princeton, his own alma mater, & the like to the founding of the Transylvania University in Kentucky, to which Mr. Jefferson, when governor of Virginia, caused the granting of a tract of land. The sparseness of the population, its dilution with the enslaved Africans, the long-continued Indian wars in these states & the want of that much larger educated element which New England & New York sent into the Northwest, have caused the difference in early development, all of which I freely admit; it nevertheless remains true that the University whose history I have more particularly sketched, has hitherto led the van of western culture, though it has for sometime, as I am glad to say, been losing its solitary grandeur, by the rise of new institutions.

The advance movement inaugurated a quarter of a century ago in the University of Michigan by the opening of its doors to women, was not mentioned in its proper place; let it suffice here to say that the "Coeds," as the girls are nicknamed, have fully justified the original action & are now represented in the great educational field by many an ornament to their profession. The result has, however, shown that women will never to any great extent enter into other professions than those of scholastic teaching & authorship.

They are almost wanting in the law school & have tended to diminution rather than increase since the opening. There are more in the schools of medicine & pharmacy & some in dentistry; but their great & perhaps increasing attendance is in the department of literature science and the arts.

It cannot be expected of one who belonged to the first faculty of the University that he will concur in the current opinion of those who know nothing of the past, that the institution was at first but a little country academy. It started on a level with the eastern colleges of the time. Its disciplinary work was as complete at first as it is now. The popular disposition to estimate a school by the numbers it has in attendance has done many an injustice to its laborious founders. I have related (Chapter XIX) an anecdote of Reverend Mr. Colclozer, which I did on the authority of the Reverend Lorenzo Davis, who lived in Ann Arbor from before the opening of the University to his death a few years since, in which he says that Mr. Colclozer was librarian of the institution when the library might have been packed in a traveling-trunk. But the truth simply told is that when Mr. Colclozer had the library in charge, it had cost more, & was worth much more than the average collections of the respectable eastern colleges. It was not made up of gifts of worn out & antiquated books from private libraries, but of choice volumes purchased at an expenditure of about \$8,000. Many another guess, founded upon numbers in attendance & architectural display, have been scarcely less wide of the truth.

The University started with simply one course, that of

candidates for the degree of A.B. & the men to do the work. The courses & the laborers have been multiplied indefinitely; but to the thoughtful mind a question will arise as to whether the multiplication of studies has not crippled the pursuit of others quite as important. The peril lies now in that direction. But the only point which I desired to impress is simply this, that the institution started as a full grown college, not as a village high-school. Since its opening the population of the state has advanced from about 200,000 to about 2,400,000 . These people, or rather their descendents, have mostly removed from log huts into comparative mansions. The little city where the university has grown up has grown up with it & the very girls who came hither from fifty miles around to serve, share the intelligence which is here diffused. To show the then & the now of our western life, chiefly by the example of one city & one school, has been the purpose of these pages.

THE END





